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EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY
THE
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI
PART XXXI

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES

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PREFACE

THIS part contains a considerable number of documents in addition to theological and literary texts (not devoted to any particular author or genre of literature). The editing is the work of several persons. Dr. Barns is responsible for 2532-4, 2539 (identified and worked on by M. L. and S. West), 2543-4, 2547-9, 2552, 2561-2, 2564, 2570, 2597-8, 2604-10, and 2612-6; Mr. Parsons has taken for his share 2555, 2557, 2558-9, 2563, 2567-8, 2572-7, 2580, 2582-3, 2585-6, 2588-95, and 2601-2; Dr. John Rea has worked on 2531, 2537-8, 2540-2, 2546, 2550, 2554, 2560, 2565-6, 2569, 2571, 2578-9, 2581, 2584, 2587, 2596, 2599, 2600, 2611; Turner takes responsibility for 2535, 2536, 2545, 2551, 2553, 2556, and 2603. The detailed responsibility is also set out in tabulated form (by initials of authors) in the Table of Papyri, p. ix. Some of the texts included are reprints, e.g. 2551 was given its first edition by P. Sattler, 2603 by J. Harrop. The transcript and almost all the restorations in 2535 are the work of Mr. E. Lobel, who has made a number of excellent suggestions on other texts. Some of the papyri for whose final form Dr. Barns takes responsibility were first worked on and identified by Messrs. A. Schachter and R. A. Coles; Dr. Barns would also like to express his obligations to Professor H. Lloyd-Jones. The four principal editors have also freely consulted each other.

The general editors would like once again to thank UNESCO for a subvention of five hundred dollars, and the Oxford University Press for their care in the printing.

E. G. TURNER
T. C. SKEAT
Graeco-Roman editors

July 1964

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NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

THE method of publication follows that adopted in Part XXVII. As there, the dots indicating letters unread and, within square brackets, the estimated number of lost letters are printed slightly below the line. In the new literary texts, corrections and annotations which appear to be in a different hand from that of the original scribe are printed in thick type. Non-literary texts are printed in modern form, with accents and punctuation, the lectional signs occurring in the papyri being noted in the *apparatus criticus*, where also faults of orthography, &c., are corrected. Iota adscript is printed where written, otherwise iota subscript is used. Square brackets [] indicate a lacuna, round brackets () the resolution of a symbol or abbreviation, angular brackets < > a mistaken omission in the original, braces { } a superfluous letter or letters, double square brackets [] a deletion, the signs ` ` an insertion above the line. Dots within brackets represent the estimated number of letters lost or deleted, dots outside brackets mutilated or otherwise illegible letters. Dots under letters indicate that the reading is doubtful. In the new literary texts letters not read or marked as doubtful in the literal transcript may be read or appear without the dot marking doubt in the reconstruction if the context justifies this. Lastly, heavy Arabic numerals refer to Oxyrhynchus papyri printed in this and preceding volumes, ordinary numerals to lines, small Roman numerals to columns.

The abbreviations used are in the main identical with those in Liddell and Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon* (ninth ed.). It is hoped that any new ones will be self-explanatory.

THEOLOGICAL TEXT

2531. THEOPHILUS OF ALEXANDRIA, *περὶ κατανύξεως*

Plate I

(?) Sixth century

These fragments come from a page of a papyrus codex, which was about 14 cm. wide by 20 cm. high. Fr. 1 (c. 2 × 4 cm.) contains a few letters from the first four lines of the recto and the first three lines of the verso. Since the last line of the recto is preserved on frag. 2 (9.5 × 11.5 cm.), the lateral position of fr. 1 is roughly fixed by the number of letters missing between it (fr. 2 r. 9) and the first surviving letter on the verso (fr. 1 v. 1). The amount of text missing between the fragments on both sides suggests that about six lines are lost, and this allows the height of the page to be calculated approximately. A third small fragment is blank.

The writing, done in a brownish ink, slopes to the right and is clear and rather large, with cursive forms but sparing of ligatures. I am in doubt about its date and can find no completely convincing parallel, but it resembles P. Cair. Masp. ii 67177 (Pls. XIX, XX) of the sixth century. The ends of words are frequently marked by a space.

The text contained in the fragments is printed under Theophilus' name among the Apophthegmata Patrum in J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 65, col. 200 (4), but the title 'On Contrition', given by the colophon here, is new. In the list of Theophilus' works compiled by G. Opitz (*RE* 2te Reihe, 5ter Band, col. 2163 No. 44) it is described as a homily on the Judgement and in M. Richard's list (*Muséon* 52, p. 41, no. 33) as a sermon on death and the Judgement. The second description is based on a title found in one of the manuscripts (cod. Vat. gr. 2000, f. 260), *περὶ ἐξόδου ψυχῆς καὶ ἀποφάσεως καὶ ἀποκρίσεως*. These descriptions seem more apposite than *περὶ κατανύξεως* and arouse the suspicion that the short piece printed in Migne is the peroration of a longer work, but a Syriac version, published with a French translation by Brière in *Revue de l'Orient chrétien* xviii (1913), pp. 79-83, has no more than Migne, and one manuscript in which it appears is attributed to the sixth or seventh century.

References to an Arab version and to other passages in Migne obviously based on this one are to be found in M. Richard's article.

Since the colophon is on a verso one might imagine that this was the last page of a book made of one gathering of sheets of papyrus piled recto upwards before folding (Schubart, *Das Buch*², p. 129), but this practice does not amount to a rule (*ibid.* p. 130) and no reliable conclusions about the gathering or the book can be drawn from a single page. The piece printed in Migne would occupy about five sides in this book.

Fr. 1 (recto)

→ ποῦ ἢ κα[ύχησις
 τοῦ κόσμου; ποῦ ἢ κεν]οδοξ[ία; ποῦ
 ἢ τρυφή; ποῦ ἢ ἀπό]λαυ[σις; ποῦ ἢ
 φαντασία; ποῦ ἢ ἀνά]παι[σις;

Fr. 2 (recto)

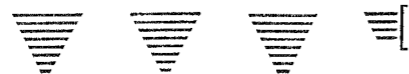
→ (κατε)χο]μένην· [το]ύτων οὐ[τω]ς
 γνω]μένω[ν, π]οταποῦ[ς δ]εῖ
 ὑπά]ρχειν [ἡμ]ᾶς ἐν ἀγί[αις] ἀνα-
 τρο]φαῖς κα[ὶ] εὐσεβείαις; [πο]ταπή(ν)
 5 ἀγά]πην ὀφείλομεν κ[τ]ήσα-
 θαι;] ποταπήν ἀγωγὴν; ποτα-
 πήν] πολιτείαν; ποταπὸν δρόμον;
 ὁπο]ίαν ἀκρίβειαν; ὁποίαν προσο-
 ...] ὁποίαν [ἀ]σφάλειαν;

Fr. 1 (verso)

↓ ταῦτα γάρ, φησ]ί, προ[εδοκῶν-
 τε, σπουδάσωμ]εν [ἄσπιλοι
 καὶ ἀμώμητοι ε]ύρ[εθῆναι

Fr. 2 (verso)

↓ ἀπ[ὸ κα]ταβολῆ[ς κόσ]μου
 εἰς τ[ὸ]ς αἰῶνας [τῶ]ν αἰών[ων·
 [Ἀ]μήν·
 Θεο[φίλ]ου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἀλ[εξαν-
 δρε]ίας περὶ καταρύξεως·



Fr. 1 (recto). The division of lines is uncertain because of their irregular length in the better preserved passages.

Fr. 2 (recto) 4 [πο]ταπή pap.

8 προσο / προσοχήν? προσευχήν Migne, but προσοχήν 'attention, care' has a relevance to ἀκρίβειαν and ἀσφάλειαν, which that does not. The Syriac version appears to support this by having no reference to prayer. In the translation of M. Brière (l.c., p. 83) 'quel modèle accompli et quelle vigilance' appears to cover all three.

Verso ↓	Col. i	Col. ii
	]μοι εβα	
	]παπαρ	
	]εστωσης	θ.[
	Αὔγουστος] ἔτη μυ	δ.[
5	Τιβέριος] ἔ[τ]η κβ	χ[ε[
	Γαίος] ἔτη δ	νο.[
	Κλαύδιος] ἔτη ιδ	5 γεν[
	Νέρων] ἔτη ιδ	— δ[...]λιο[
	Οὐεσπασία]νός ι	η — .υπν[
10	Τίτος] ἔτη γ	τος εγεν.[
	Δομτιανός] ἔτη ιε	παρα...[
	Νέρουα] ἐνιαυτόν	10 παρ.[
	Τραιανός] ἔτη ιε	νηθ.[
	Αδριανός] ἔτη κα	ν.υει.[
15	Αἴλιος Ἄντων]νός κγ	α. — α[
	Κόμμοδος] Ἄντωνίνος[
	] ἔτη λβ	15 γ — α[
	Ἐουήρος καὶ] Ἄντωνίνος	— [
	] ἔτη κε	ιη — ἥλιος [
20	Ἄντωνίνος] ὁ ἕτερος δ	νηθησαν [
	Ἀλέξανδρος] ἔτη ιγ	μερα προ[
	Μαξιμίνοσ] ἔ[τ]η γ	20 λαξαι κα[
	Γορδιανός ἔτη] ς	τοις αγο[
	Φίλιππος ἔτη] ς	λοιμη[
		ταμε[
		ε.[

Recto Col. i 5]λ Neugebauer 6 or κ[8 or]ρε 9 perhaps]ρωμε 20 before ε
 perhaps λ or δ 23]ολ or]οα ii 19 perhaps ε[22 first letter certainly ο, not c
 Verso Col. i 2 perhaps]υπατίαι or πασαι, but ρ is more probable at the end 23, 24]ς
 Neugebauer ii 6 or]χιο 16 uncertain whether a long stroke or zero sign 17 trace of
 ink after and above ιη, uncertain whether part of a horizontal stroke, then a space 23 γαμε[
 Neugebauer

RELIGIOUS AND ASTROLOGICAL TEXTS

2552. ILLUSTRATED EGYPTIAN RELIGIOUS TEXT IN GREEK?

Plate II

5×7 cm.

Early second century

Although the text preserved in this small scrap is too scanty for any attempt to recover its sense, the style of the illustration above is so unmistakably Egyptian that its accompaniment by Greek writing is in itself remarkable. The drawing is outlined in black, and coloured. It shows the lower part of a human figure in profile, facing right, of which the left leg and foot are entirely preserved, placed directly in front of the right (which are partly lost), on the same base line in Egyptian fashion. The figure appears to be standing on a shallow basis or platform which ends a little in front of the left toe; it is shown as a long rectangle with a line along the middle which perhaps attempts to represent the upper surface of the basis in perspective; this object is coloured pale red. The left ankle of the figure (the right is lost) is indicated by a semicircle in black; a small black projection immediately in front of each toe possibly represents sandals. The border of a garment is visible just above the level of the knees; the colour of this is obscured by fading and stains. But the most remarkable feature of the drawing is the colouring of the legs, which is blue-green. This suggests a representation of a divine personage; for the significance of green as the colour of flesh, see Kees, *Nachrichten v. d. Akad. d. Wiss. in Göttingen, phil.-hist. Kl.* 1943 (No. 11), pp. 428 seq.; Osiris is often so represented, but the posture is not characteristic of him. The writing is a neat informal upright rounded hand, with ligatures; it suggests the earlier second century. Written along the fibres of papyrus of good quality; the verso is blank.

]εεστυερ.[
].εαυτουτο[
].απαθηεν[
].αφοδ.[

1 Last letter: a curved limb descending leftwards to the level of the line, with a small trace above; probably μ 2 First letter: trace of ligature from a previous letter joining ε 3 First letter: trace of upright, and possibly of horizontal joining α; τ? 4 First letter: top of upright, preceded by horizontal curving up to join it at top; η or μ? Last letter: probably left bow of ω

1 οὐτος (or ἐκεῖ) δ]ε ἔστυν Ἑρμ[ῆς? Hermes-Thoth is of course commonly represented in judgement scenes in Egyptian funerary papyri.

3 τὰ πάθη?
 4 τ]ῆ ἀφόδω?

2553. CALENDAR OF CULT OFFERINGS

Plate X

Fr. i 9.5 × 13.5 cm. Late second or early third century

Two fragments written in a neat small round cursive, to be assigned to the end of the second or beginning of the third century A.D. It is similar to, but less formal than, the hand of the Gnomon of the Idios Logos (BGU v). P. Ryl. ii 86 (pl. 18) of A.D. 195 offers a fairly good parallel. β is written with a broad base.

The fragments can be reconstructed as part of a calendar or hemerologion of cult-offerings. In spite of mutilation (the extent of the loss on the right-hand side cannot be determined) and the puzzling nature of some of the entries, the text offers new evidence regarding the penetration of Roman cult in Egypt.

The nearest parallel, close also in date and overlapping in season of the year is P. Oslo iii 77 from Tebtynis. As in the Oslo papyrus, in 2553 entries were made by day of the Egyptian month. Though none of the dates actually survive, their presence is assured by the order of the entries and by the *paragraphi* still visible below ll. 5, 8, and 13; and they can be recovered by combinatory process. Special attention is given to festivals connected with Hadrian (e.g. the deification of Antinous, the birthday of Antinous, the date of Hadrian's (entry?) *εἰς τὴν πόλιν*, l. 11), and also imperial festivals (victories of Marcus Aurelius, Verus' birthday). Against each date is usually set a verb in 3rd person singular present tense without an expressed subject (4 n.), ['he'] 'sits' (7 n.) or 'sacrifices' or 'offers incense' (10 n.). No place-name actually survives. The place concerned may be Oxyrhynchus, the provenance of the papyrus. The prominence given to the cult of Antinous might suggest that Antinoopolis should be the location, but the fact that there is a shrine of the name *Λαγείων* suggests that the place had a continuous history of occupation since the early Ptolemaic period. The reference to a gymnasiarch (l. 12) might suit either Alexandria or Oxyrhynchus: many of the temples named are known to have existed in both. But the date sequence of the events commemorated in the calendar, if they are to be identified as seems plausible with the incidents of Hadrian's visit to Egypt (11 n.), seems to exclude Alexandria, but is reconcilable with Oxyrhynchus. In the latter place a victory over the Jews (presumably in Trajan's time) was still commemorated nearly a century later (705 34); the baths are named after the emperor (54, 896), and Hadrian's temple, *Ἀδριανεῖον*, is mentioned as late as the fourth century (1113, 2154).

The part of the calendar for which dates can plausibly be suggested is as follows:

1-3	(not earlier than Hathyr 3 = 30 Oct.)	? and deification of Antinous (1)
4-5	Choiak 4 = 30 Nov.	Birthday of Antinous (2)
6-8	Betw. 30 Nov. and 15 Dec.	Victories of deified Aurelius Antoninus
9-10	Betw. 30 Nov. and 15 Dec.	Festival held because of a bequest

11-13	Betw. 30 Nov. and 15 Dec.	Day on which deified Hadrian (entered?) the city
14-16	Choiak 19 = 15 Dec.	Birthday of the deified Verus (3)

The date of (1) is fixed by Chronicon Pascale i 223: Antinous died iii Kal. Nov. Divinization may have been later than this. The date of (2) is given by *CIL* xiv 2112. 5 = ILS 7212, and of (3) by numerous testimonies (cf. *Yale Class. Stud.* vii, p. 252).

The years in which this calendar was in force cannot be precisely determined. The handwriting is most like that of the closing decades of the second century, but could be early third century. Verus (*θεός*, l. 14) is dead, so probably is the emperor Marcus Aurelius (*θεός*, l. 6, if *Ἀυρήλιος Ἀντωνίνος* refers to him). The title Britannicus (l. 2 n.) may put the date in the time of Commodus. Hadrian may perhaps be the first emperor who figures in this list. No festivals seem to be attached to 8, 16, 17 Nov., the birthdays of Nerva, Tiberius, and Vespasian.

If Oxyrhynchus is in fact the location of this calendar, then it is of interest to note that religious festivals connected with the imperial cult are celebrated in a metropolis, and that a shrine connected with worship of the Ptolemies still survives there.

The temples and shrines mentioned are:

- | | |
|--|-----------------------------|
| 1.]ησιον οἶκον τὸν Βρεττανικοῦ, l. 2. | 6. Λαγείων, ll. 7, 10, 13. |
| 2.]ειο(ν) l. 3. | 7. Σεβαστεῖο(ν) ll. 12, 14. |
| 3. Τυχαῖον l. 3. | 8. Ἡρακλείον (?) l. 26. |
| 4. Σεραπεῖον ll. 3, 19, 22. | 9. Ἀπολλωνεῖον (?) l. 27. |
| 5.]γειον, l. 7. | |

We hear also of a temple (? the *Σεβαστεῖον*) on the *δromus* of which there were steps; and possibly a sacrifice to the Nile is also mentioned (l. 25).

Fr. i

[9/10] .c τοῦ Διὸς καὶ ἐκθεώει Ἀντινόου[ν
]ησιον οἶκον τὸν Βρετανικοῦ κ[
]ξιο(ν) καὶ εἰς τὸ Τυχαίου(ν) καὶ εἰς τὸ Ζαραπ[
] .[Ἀ]ντινόου θύει ἱππικ() αρ[.] . . . [

5 4/5]ων ἡμέραι ᾗ ὁπότε εἰς προτεθῶ[σιν] (?)
] . ἑπιπικίων θεοῦ Ἀντινόου Ἀντινόου
 6/7] . [.] γείων καὶ ἐν τῷ Λαγείω καθέζετ(αι)[
 4/5] καὶ κτήναι θεωριῶν ἡμέραι β' ὁπό[τε
] κου ἀγ[ο]μένου ἀπὸ καταλίψεω[ς] . [

10] Ζαραπείου(ν) ἐπιθύει καὶ ἐν τῷ Λαγείω καθέζετ(αι)
] ἡμέρα ὁ θεὸς Ἄδριανὸς εἰς τὴν πόλι[ν
] γυμνασίω(ν) ἰς τὸ Σεβαστίου(ν) θύει καὶ εἰς τ[ὸ κω-
] μάξει καὶ θύει καὶ ἐν τῷ Λαγείω καθέζετ(αι) ἱππ[
] γ]ενεσίους θεοῦ Οὐρηοῦ εἰς τὸ Σεβαστίου(ν) θύει καὶ [

15] κ]λειμακίους τοῦ δρόμου καὶ εἰς τὸ Ζαραπείου(ν) καὶ ε[
] λου[.] ἀχ. ἐ διπλατρι^κ καὶ [

γ]ενεσίων θε[οῦ
] σεως καὶ π[.
] καὶ εἰς τὸ Ζαραπεί[ο]υ(ν)
 20] . ε - ἱππ[.] . [

Fr. ii

] πα[] οτιψ . [

κ]αὶ εἰς τὸ Ζαραπ[ε]ίου(ν)
] υς κουριτιο . [

] γγνωραν . [

25] τω Νεῖλω δ[
] κ τοῦ Ἡρακλεῖ
] εἰς τὸ Ἀπολλ[
] ακαιτη[
] ε[

1 l. ἐκθεώει 2 l. Βρετανικοῦ 9 l. καταλίψεως 12 l. εἰς 15 l. κλειμακίους

1-3 . . . 'On the . . . of Zeus (Jupiter?) and consecration of Antinous . . . to the house of Britannicus . . . eum and to the shrine of Fortune and to the Sarapeum'

1] . c: not]ι, i.e. μεγ[ίστου] or . . . το]ς τοῦ, but]ρ or]ω. ἐκθεώει dative (cf. γενεσίους l. 14 dative) suggests that another noun in the dative stood at the beginning of the line. In ll. 6 and 9, however, (and perhaps γενεσίους l. 17) the entry begins in the genitive, perhaps preceded by ὑπέρ.

Διός: one might think of a reference to Ammon (Grenfell and Hunt on 1449, 1), Jupiter Capitolinus (cf. W. Chr. 96; P. Milan N. cat. 102, M. Vandoni, *Acme* xii (1959), p. 192, 6). But the date of Jupiter Capitolinus' appearance in Egypt is usually taken to be the 3rd cent. after A.D. 212 (though the date of the Milan papyrus just mentioned is uncertain). An event one part of which is the apotheosis of Antinous suggests that the other deity should be Hadrian. The reference therefore may be to Zeus Panhellenios or Ἐλευθέριος (with whom Hadrian was assimilated (cf. W. Weber, *Hadrian* (full title in n. 11), on p. 147, n. 539, A. D. Nock, *HSCP* 1930, p. 32)).

ἐκθεώει: the word is cited in *Wörterbuch* only from the Canopus decree, OGI 56, 53. ἀποθέωει (P. Gen. 36, 18, and in literature) is the commoner word. ἐκθεώεις Ἀρσινόης, Dieg. Callim. x 10.

2 The fact that the first two words are in the accusative practically excludes this entry's being a different occasion from that in l. 1, for there would not be room to express this new occasion.]ησιον might be restored τὸν πλ]ησίον, or perhaps better understood as an adjectival termination -ήσιος, representing Latin -ensis. For οἶκος in a religious sense, cf., e.g., P. Petrie iii 1, 2, 17, etc.

Βρετανικός: after Claudius no emperor till Commodus (BGU 920, 37, A.D. 180) took this title.

Κ]: e.g. Κ[αίσαρος] or κ[αί].

3 Τυχαίου: may be a temple of the Greek Τύχη, the Roman *Fortuna*, or possibly the *Fortuna* of the emperor. For a shrine of this title in Alexandria, cf. E. Visser, *Götter und Kulte*, p. 99; in Arsinoe, BGU i 9, i 21 (W. Chr. 293); P. Teb. ii 395, 4; 398, 5, etc.

Α νεώκορος Τύχης at Oxyrhynchus appears in 507 5.

4-5 'On the birthday of Antinous he sacrifices horse-rites . . . three days, whenever they are posted'

4 A new entry begins with this line.

θύει: 3rd pers. pres. indic. is used throughout to state ritual. Absence of expressed subject and the present tense are formulaic, of recurrent happenings. The ὑπομνηματισμοί of the strategos in W. Chr. 41 are all couched in the past tense, e.g. ii 8 ἔστειψεν (sc. ὁ στρατηγός) εἰς γυμνασίω(ν) καὶ [ἐ]θύει ἐν τῷ Καίσαρει καὶ ἐν τῷ [γυ]μνασίω. For the present tense cf. the calendars of Cos, e.g. Paton and Hicks, *Inscriptions of Cos*, 38, 7 θύει ἱερὰ καὶ ἱερὰ παρέχει. In the calendars of Lindos θύει and θύτω are interchanged, cf., e.g., F. Sokolowski, *Lois Sacrées* 88 a 2, b 3. Presentation in the form of a statement is like entries in a memorandum, or the summary legal provisions of the Gnomon of the Idios Logos, e.g. 11 γυνή Κρηναία τέκνον οὐ κληρονομεῖ. The subject is possibly [ὁ] γυμνασάρχ[ος] [as in l. 12]: but the absence of termination there allows other restorations, e.g. μετὰ τῶν γυμνασάρχων. If so, the subject might be the chief magistrate, officer, or priest (e.g. municipal exegetes, the epistrategos, or the νεωκόρος).

I have not found a precise parallel to the pres. indic. without expressed subject. Possibly it was stated in an earlier part of the text now lost.

ἱππικ(): cf. ll. 13, 20. The expansion must be speculative in the absence of parallels, e.g. ἱππικ(ὸν θύει) or ἱππικ(ῶ ἀγῶν).

5]ων: ? κτήναι θεωριῶν as in l. 8. θεωρία is the term for the appropriate ritual in the Tebtynis calendar P. Oslo iii 77, 18; in BGU 362 = W. Chr. 96 vii 3 (temple of Jupiter Capitolinus at Arsinoe); cf. also P. Oxy. 1025 = W. Chr. 493, 16 (a local Egyptian festival).

6-8 ' . . . on behalf of the victories of the deified Aurelius Antoninus . . . geum and sits in the Lageum . . . and booths of spectacles whenever'

6] . ἑπιπικίων: possibly ὑπέρ (as often in P. Oslo iii 77), which cannot, however, be verified. In this context θεός Ἀῦρ. Ἀντωνίνου must surely be M. Aurelius, not Caracalla: for the phrase used of him cf. P. Teb. 327, 17 = W. Chr. 394 (WB is wrong), P. Gen. 18, 14.

According to WB the word ἐπιπικία has only appeared once in the papyri, in P. Oxy. 705, = W. Chr. 153 = CPJ ii 450, l. 34, the day of victory over the Jewish rebels.

What were the victories celebrated here on a date lying between 30 Nov. and 15 Dec.? If θεοῦ singular is pressed (i.e. to exclude Verus) it would seem that it must refer to one of the victories which earned for Marcus the title of Germanicus (172) or Sarmaticus (175), but there is no strong evidence for dating either of these in the autumn. It does not appear to be possible to link this date with the

ending of the revolt of Avidius Cassius in A.D. 175 (about mid-July, cf. R. Rémondon, *Chron. d'Ég.* 1951, 374-5). On the cults of Victoriae de gentibus, cf. O. Fink, *Yale Class. Stud.* viii (1942), pp. 81 seqq.

7]γειον: Λα]γειον, which cannot be verified, might have been used after (sc. θεί) εἰς τὸ, cf. ll. 14-15, in spite of the repetition ἐν τῷ Λαγείῳ. Λαγείον, properly a shrine of Lagus, which recurs in ll. 10 and 13, has previously been known only as the name of an amphitheatre in Alexandria, SB 6222 (3rd cent. A.D.). Its continued use (possibly in a town in Upper Egypt) is evidence of the lasting respect felt for the Ptolemies. SB 9016 shows a temple of Soter and cult offered there at Coptos in the 2nd cent. A.D.

καθέξερ(αι): cf. also ll. 10, 13. H. Chadwick refers to Tertullian, *de Oratione* 16; Apuleius, *Florida* i 1; Propertius ii 28, 45; Plutarch, *Numa* xiv; *Aet. Rom.* 25 (270D); Ovid, *Fasti* vi 307. There is a general discussion by F. Dolger, *Antike und Christentum*, v 116-36. Sitting after prayer seems to be Roman.

[Addendum: A. Alföldi canvasses the possibility that καθέξεται is equivalent to Latin *sedet* or *praesidet*. If such an equivalence were accepted, this calendar might include a series of acts to be carried out by an important member of the Roman imperial bureaucracy.]

8 κήναι: At the end of the line, perhaps ὁπό[τε ἐὰν προτεθῶν as in l. 5.

9-10 '... contest celebrated as a result of a bequest ... he offers incense in the Sarapeum and sits in the Lageum ...'

The paragraph shows that a new anniversary begins at this line. As pointed out by H. C. Youtie, the first letter is probably κ (cf. οἶκον in l. 2) rather than β. Possibly (ἀγώνος [ἐφηβ]ικοῦ ἀγ[ο]μένου; but [γυμν]ικοῦ, [μουσ]ικοῦ, [ἔπιπ]ικοῦ could not be excluded; κατάλευσις is used in 75 12 of 'the body of an inheritance'. The prizes in an ephobic contest at Oxyrhynchus 'on the same terms as the Antinoites now compete' were endowed by will in A.D. 200 by Aurelius Horion. Horion recalls that the day of victory over the Jews (τῆν τῶν ἐπινεικίων ἡμέραν) was still annually commemorated in Oxyrhynchus (705 = W. Chr. 153).

10 ἐπιθύει: i.e. 'offer incense', disting. from θύει, 'offer a sacrificial victim'.

11-13 'On the day on which the deified Hadrian ... the city ... gymnasiarch(s) enters the Sebasteum and sacrifices and the ... and goes in procession and sacrifices and sits in the Lageum, horse-rites.'

11 A new entry probably begins here in view of the verbs of the following two lines. The opening phrase would seem to be of the type ἐν ἡ ἡμέρα, reminiscent of the Latin *eo die*, e.g. *Feriale Cumanum* (ILS 108) *passim*. A verb such as εἰσῆλθεν seems to be required. If the reference is not to Rome (cf. P. Oslo iii 77, 19-20, Aurelius' return εἰς τὴν βασιλῖδα 'Ρώμην) but to somewhere in Egypt, the date between 30 Nov. and 15 Dec. seems to forbid a reference to Alexandria, and makes a place in Upper Egypt inevitable (cf. introduction). P. Oslo iii 77 records an ἐπίβασις on Choiak 5 = 1 Dec. and a commemoration of Hadrian's second decennium on Choiak 17 = 13 Dec.

Hadrian's visit to Egypt was planned well in advance (cf. van Groningen, *Studi in Onore di Calderini-Paribeni* ii 253-6, collections for his παρουσία at Oxyrhynchus were being made in December A.D. 129). The time-table of his visit has been reconstructed by W. Weber, *Untersuchungen z. Gesch. des Kaisers Hadrianus* (1907), pp. 246 seqq. He seems to have arrived in Alexandria in the summer (before the end of August, for one coin, marking his arrival, is dated to year 14, though most belong to year 15); to have reached the site of Antinoopolis by 30 Oct. (date of Antinous' death); to have 'heard' Memnon at Thebes on 21 Nov. (CIG 4727 and addenda); Choiak, the month rechristened *Hadrianus* runs from 27 Nov. to 26 Dec. The return journey took place in December and January.

12 Σεβαστεῖον: the evidence for metropolite and village shrines of the reigning emperors is collected by C. Kunderewicz, *JJP* xiii (1961), pp. 123-9.

13 Perhaps [κω]μά]ζει, cf. W. Chr. 41 iv 14, παρέτυχεν (ὁ στρατηγός) κωμασία εἰς ἔθους ἀγομέ]γη Ἰαίδος θεῆς μεγίστης.

14-15 '... on the birthday of the deified Verus enters the Sebasteum and sacrifices and ... on the steps of the processional way and into the Sarapeum and ...'

14 On the distinction between the term γενέθλια (used in the Oslo calendar) and γενέσια, cf. Eitrem and Amundsen's note in P. Oslo iii, p. 49, n. 1, corrected by C. H. Roberts, P. Merton i 40, 4.

16 The term διπλατρικ() is baffling.

17 The date may be the birthday of Titus, Tybi 4 = 30 Dec., or more probably Tybi 29 = 24 Jan., the birthday of Hadrian.

21 Fragment ii: this fragment offers two more shrines ('Ηρακλείον l. 26, τὸ Ἀπολλ[ωνεῖον (?) l. 27, cf., e.g., 1449, 4 where Grenfell and Hunt equate Apollo with Horus), and a mention (? sacrifice) to the Nile in l. 25. It also offers puzzles of articulation and interpretation in ll. 23-24 to which I have no answer. κουριτιο. l. 24 might be connected with κουριάω, κουρίζω, κούριμος, and refer to a festival of dedication of hair on reaching manhood.

2554. PREDICTIONS BY ASTROLOGY

Plate III (fr. 3)

Third century

This text is written on the verso of 2546, Manetho's *Aphotelesmatica*. Since it is written upside down in relation to the Manetho the numeration of the fragments here is illogical, but for comparison of recto and verso I have let the same numbers stand. There are traces of three columns. The ends of the lower part of col. i are on fr. 1, the top of col. ii is on fr. 2, the foot on fr. 1 again. Then there is a gap of three columns, since the rather broad columns (c. 15 cm.) are almost as wide as those of the hexameters on the recto (c. 17 cm.). Fr. 4 contains the ends of lines from the top of the succeeding column, fr. 3 the ends of lines from the foot of the same column.¹

The text consists of annual predictions by the stars. The most puzzling feature of these is that the rise of the Nile is forecast for each year, and not by cubits only, but including palms and digits. In one year the 'king' (βασιλεύς) will die in his own house, then sundry disasters will follow, after which the 'king' will be great and punish his adversaries. In the context of predictions for a particular year the only meaning I can attribute to these statements is that the Roman emperor will die and be replaced by another. The other two possibilities that occur to me seem less likely. The king could be some allegorical figure, such as the vague new ruler foretold in the Potter's Oracle (2332 65 n.), but hardly in a prediction for a particular year. Or perhaps βασιλεύς could be an astrological description of the sun, like παντοκράτωρ (cf. *Greek Horoscopes*, no. 46 1). Certain of the words have astronomical significances, e.g. θρόνος, οἶκος, but I cannot find a connected meaning for the sentences in this way and, what seems more important, such astronomical details would not be on the same plane of interest as the foreknowledge of a charm for the year (e.g. 1 ii 14) and the height of the Nile.

¹ The following scrap of 2554, consisting of parts of 6 ll. and the top margin, has lately been identified. It is blank on the recto and so adds nothing to 2546.

	]ακαταστασιακαμ[
	]εται αλεξητηριον[
	]καθεκαστηνατο[
	]αβασεωσταμ[
5	]υλοι γ' εωσπ.[
	(vac.) [
	]ηλιου...[

The predictions seem to claim to be based on calculation of the positions of the stars at the time of the heliacal rising of Sothis, or Sirius, as suggested by the unfortunately incomplete passage at fr. 3 iii 14 seqq. and confirmed by close parallels in Hephaestion, bk. i, ch. 23, entitled *περὶ ἐπισημασιῶν τῆς τοῦ Κυνός ἐπιτολῆς καὶ τῶν πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀστέρων*, but the precise measurement of the Nile and the forecast of the death of an emperor, if that is what the passage means, give rise to the suspicion that they were composed after the events, perhaps by way of an advertisement for some astrologer or some system of astrology.

The handwriting is of the well-known 'oval and sloping' type and should probably be assigned to a date within the third century (cf., e.g., C. H. Roberts, *Greek Literary Hands*, 21a).

I am grateful to Professor Neugebauer and to G. J. Toomer for their expert advice.

Fr. 1

16.5 × 7 cm. Foot

Col. i

Col. ii

.....].....]α...ε.....[
].ε...ον[.....]...αξι μέγας φέρων. α...[.].οις...[
]ου μιανανα...[.]. ὁ δὲ σπορὸς καλῶς φνύσεται ἐν ἀρχῇ κα[
]ις οὐρανοῦ[.].[.].[.].[.]. ησεται ταραχὴ καὶ πόλεμος[
]... 5 καὶ τοῖς πλοῦσι[τοις] κακῶς ἔσται· ἢ γὰρ παρρησία αὐτῶν ἀ[ναι-
]εως ρεθήσεται καὶ [τ]ὰ αὐτῶν ἀναλημφθήσεται καὶ ἑτέροις [.
] χηκόσι αὐτῶν [.]...[.] παραδοθήσ[ε]ται καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς κα[τα-
] λείψει αὐτοῦ τὸν ἴδιον θρόνον καὶ ἔτε[ρο]ς ἐπικρατήσει αὐτοῦ, τοῦτ' ἔ-
] ςτι ἀποθανε[ῖ]τα[ι] ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν ἰδίῳ οἴκ[ω] καὶ μέγας ἀνήρ[
] 10 σημος ὀνομα...[.] ἀπολείται· καὶ οἱ π[τ]ωχοὶ ὑψωθήσονται[ι καὶ
]μα οἱ πλούσιοι ταπεινωθήσονται· λ[ε]ιμὸς[ε] καὶ ἀσθένεια καὶ [.
]ανο θμος ἐν πολλοῖς τόποις ἔσται καὶ [.]τει.αι τῶν ὑγρῶν ανα[.
]εἰπῶ ςονται· μετὰ δ[ε] ταῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς [μ]έγας ἔσται καὶ τοὺς ἀντ[ιπά-
]και λους τιμωρή[σε]ι· ἀλεξήγηριον [τ]οῦ ἔτους· ζωγράφησον [εἰς βύς-
]σεμι 15 ςινον ῥάκος μὴ ἔχον [...].απ[...].[.] σνηρεβηη κα[
]ναιξι θύων καὶ σπένδων...[.]κας[.]α ὀ[ο]μάζων σονῆη[
]ομαι ἀναβάσει μετρά θε[ο]ι π[ή]χαι[ε] ιδ[ε] παλ[αι]ται δ[ε] δάκτυλ(οι) [.
]καλωσ πήχεις ιδ
]οναυτου

Fr. 2

9 × 13 cm. Top

Col. ii

]ηυποταξείσαν[
]εντοισβας[.]λει[.
]...εσταικαιτοιςδε...[
]...καλωσεσταικαιπαν[.
 5]ταικαιυλλημ[.]ιτρω[.
]ρασθενουντ[.....].κυρω[.
]...αυξησε[.]καιχ[.]ηματιεκα[.
]σονται[.]εξητηριογτουετους[.
]...εχονυποτουςπο[.
 10]τωνποδωνητω[.
]νο[.]θιωνμεχρικροταφ[
]...στολισθεν.η.ειοφε[.
]θειοιπη'χ' ιδ πα'λ'α [.
]...[.]ν[.....].ν[.
]...[.]δε[.....].[

Fr. 3

13 × 30 cm. Foot

Col. iii

]. []κ[]εται ἢ μεγάλη]τὸν θρόνον καὶ]...]. σηα[.]πε.θ[.]ται ἐφ' ὧ ο.χ.]ται[.]α ἀποκλεισθή[.]εται καὶ λειμὸς ἔσται]τα[.]β]ασιλεὺς ἐν ἐσχ[.]άτω] μέρει τοῦ ἑνιαυτοῦ]ἐπὶ τοῦ ἰδίου θρόν[.]ου κ]αὶ καλῶς ἔσται τῆ ἀλεξητ[.]ήριον τοῦ ἔτους· πτε[.]ρὸν ἕβρωσ Θασίας εα]... δ[.]πως πορεύη π[.]... ξένης περιάψαι 10 εἰς τὸν βρ]αχινόνα σου καὶ ἐπανελθ[.]ὼν πάλιν εἰς τὸν ἴδιον τόπον] ἀποκαταθοῦ ὄθεν ἐβά[.]σταξας· τῆς ἀναβάσεως μέτρα] θείοι πῆχ(εις) ἡβ[.] παλ(αισταί) γ[.] δά[.]κτ[.]υλ(ος) ᾱ]...[.]... ενον ἡλιακὸν φῶ[.]σ· ὁ δὲ προγεγραμμέ- 15 νος θεὸς ε]ννοδεύει ἐνὶ τῶν τῆς ζ[.]ώθ[.]εως δεκανῶν καλου- μένω]ρ[.]... ἐν τούτῳ τῶ ἔτει [.] (?). Ὡθ γίνεται κύμ- φωνος τῆ ἐν]τ[.]ῆ κ]ε τοῦ Ἐπειφ ἀνατολ[.]ῆ] τοῦ ἄστρου ὥστε τῆν (?)] τοῦ Ἐ]π[.]εὶφ καθ' Ἐλληνας εἶ[.]ν]αι κατὰ ἀρχαίους Ὡθ ᾱ

Fr. 4

6 × 11 cm. Top

Col. iii

]μενοσθεος]ανωνκαλ[.]υ]κᾱ ᾱ εντουτω]ενδεηρινα 5]συμφωνησει]συμφοροικαι]αλωνωνπληθυν]ανωμालησου]εκνηροικαι 10]ετοσκαιθανα]ανθρω[.]ων

1 i 3 seqq. '... and the seed will grow well at first ... sky ... tumult and war ... and it will go badly with the rich. Their arrogance will be cast down and their goods confiscated and delivered over to others who have ... and the king will leave his own throne and another will overpower him, that is, the king will die in his own house. And a great man ... will be ruined. And the poor will be exalted and the rich humbled. Famine and sickness and ... will appear in many places and ... of liquids will. ... But after this the king will be great and will punish his adversaries. Talisman for the year. Draw on a strip of linen that has no ... (magic word) ... sacrificing and pouring libations ... speaking the name of Souie. ... Height of the flood: 14 imperial cubits, 4 palms, ? digits. 14 cubits.'

1 i 6 Probably ἀναβάς]εως and the end of an entry, cf. ii 7.

10]. . . συν: cf. 3 iii 14 and 4 iii 1, which suggest ὁ δὲ προγεγραμμένος θε]ός συν[.]οδεύει ἐνὶ τῶν τῆς ζώθ[.]εως δεκανῶν [.] [καλουμένων] μα[.]τ?

11]μᾱ: probably the name of the second decan of Capricorn, i.e. ματ (v. *Greek Horoscopes*, p. 6). The line above could indicate a numeral, i.e. 241, but it seems more likely that it denotes a non-Greek word, cf. ii 15, 16.

2 ii 2 cf. Hephaestion, ed. Engelbrecht, p. 94, 16 seq. καὶ ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις κράσεις γενέσθαι . . .

8 ἀλεξητῆριον: cf. 1 i 14, 3 iii 9. The next four lines are perhaps instructions for making a figurine as a charm, or for drawing a magic figure.

10 ἦτω possibly ἦτω = ἔστω cf. the imperative in 1 i 14.

12 Possibly γῆρει for γῆραι (= γῆρα) cf. LSJ s.v. γῆρος. For γῆρας ὄψεως cf. A. Dieterich, *P. Mag. Lugd. Bataū.* v 20.

1 i 7/8 cf. Engelbr. 92, 16 seq., 94, 16 seq. (Κρόνος μὲν ἐν Καρκίνῳ ἐγκαταλείψει τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θρόνον τὸν τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλέα καὶ ἀποθανεῖσθαι σημαίνει . . .), 95, 17.

10 -σημος: if this is a name Dornseiff-Hansen give Ἐπίσημος, Ἀρίσημος, but perhaps something like 'with a famous name' is intended. Cf. Engelbr. 85, 4 σημαίνειν . . . τοὺς ἐπίσημους ταπεινοὺς; 96, 30 . . . θάνατον μεγάλων ἀνδρῶν.

ἡψωθήσονται: cf. Engelbr. 95, 3 seq. τοὺς τε πένητας πλουτήσων καὶ τοὺς πλουτίους πτωχεύσειν.

11].]|θμος: the trace is an upright with a slight convexity to the left which suggests ε, but κλαυθμός is the most appropriate word that I can find, cf. *CCAG* 7, 169, 12 λύπαι καὶ πένθη καὶ κλαυθμοὶ ἔσονται. . . . Perhaps κλαυθμός, cf. Engelbr. 93, 31 ἰσχυροὺς καύσωνας καὶ ἐμπρήσεις.

13 seq. cf. Engelbr. 92, 9 seqq. τῶ τε τῆς χώρας βασιλεὶ νίκην κατὰ τῶν ἀντιπάλων.

14 ἀλεξητῆριον: cf. P. Warr. 21 recto i 23 φηλακτήριον. σελήνη[.]ο]να γ περιελήσας φοροῦ ἀριστερῶ βραχ[.]ίον).

βύς]εινον βάκος: cf. *PGM* i 1, 276 seq., 292; ii 7, 209, 665; 8, 85, 145.

17 θεῖοι apparently equals βασιλικοὶ i.e. the royal cubit of 7 palms and 28 digits, which was retained for measuring the Nile, cf. Segrè, *Metrologia* pp. 4, 9. *TAPA* lxxxvii (1956), p. 56, n. 5, but perhaps the translation should be 'sacred' rather than 'imperial', especially in this context, since there was a sacred Nile cubit in the Alexandrian Serapeum until Constantine moved it to a church (*Jahrbuch für Antike u. Christentum* ii (1959), p. 33).

4 iii 1 cf. 3 iii 14 n.

2]ανων καλ[.]ο]ν: cf. 3 iii 15.

7 ἀλώνων πληθυν[.]θ[.]εῖων? 'with full threshing floors'. The picture changes in 3 iii 6. This perhaps suggest there ταμ[.]εῖ]α ἀποκλεισθήσεται but the vertical before the gap seems to be isolated.

8]ανωμालησου: cf. ἀνωμαλεῖν 'to suffer ups and downs of fortune'.

9]εκνηροικαι: Locker, *Rückläufiges Wb.* has nothing under -ἐκνηρος, -ός, -ον, -όν, -εκνήρ, -ἐκνηρ.

3 iii 9 ἕβρωσ Θασίας: according to Aelian, *de nat. anim.* ii 38, the ibis dies if taken from Egypt. According to O. Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt* ii 200, one variety (*ibis falcinellus*) visits the European coasts of the Mediterranean and mummies of it have been found, but the true sacred bird (*ibis aethiopica* or *religiosa*) does not travel north of Egypt. There is also a bird called 'tech' or 'technj', sacred to Thoth, but not the usual ibis, v. Roscher, s.v. Thoth, col. 841 § (b). For the feathers in magic, v. *PGM* i 1 246, 3 620, 4 46, 804, ii 7 327.¹

14 seqq. This passage seems to suggest by its reference to the rise of Sirius (17 ἀνατολ[.]...)] τοῦ

¹ I now see that this is probably the same as the herb called 'ibis-wing' or 'Thoth's feather', v. *JEA* xx (1934) p. 186. But *Θασίας* remains obscure.

ἀστρου) that the 'predictions' are based on the calculation of the position of some star or stars at the time of the heliacal rising of Sirius, which marked the beginning of the new year for the ancient Egyptians. Ll. 14-16 give the position of a star in a particular decan, the sky being divided into 36 regions called decans, 3 for each sign of the zodiac. Ll. 16-18 seem to me to give the date of the rising of Sirius in the fixed Greco-Roman calendar of Egypt, i.e. Epeiph 25 = 19 July, and in the calendar according to the Egyptian 'wandering' year. The 'wandering' year lacked a leap year so that the first day of the year fell one day earlier every four years. In the Roman period the Egyptian calendar was regularized by the addition of another intercalary day every four years, but this calendar, καθ' Ἑλληνας, was often neglected by the Egyptians, who for reasons of national pride preferred the original version καθ' ἀρχαίους. Thoth 1st was meant to coincide with the heliacal rising of Sirius but it fell gradually earlier until in A.D. 140-3 they again coincided. Professor Neugebauer thinks that it is more likely that a general statement is being made here, namely that the canonical date in the fixed year was Epeiph 25, cf. Hephaestion i ch. 23 παρετήρησαν δὲ οἱ παλαιγενεῖς σοφοὶ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ τὰς τῆς Σώθειας (= Κυνός) ἐπιτολάς ἐν ταῖς εἰκοσιπέντε τοῦ μηνός Ἐπιφί καὶ τούτων ἀποτελέσματα ἐξέθεντο . . . In my opinion the middle of the series is not the place for a general statement of this fact and the phrase ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει seems to me to fit oddly at the end of the συνοδεύει sentence and well at the beginning of the next sentence, which would run 'In this year the ?th day of Thoth (sc. according to the ancients) is coincident with the rising of Sirius upon the 25th Epeiph (sc. according to the Greeks), so that the ?th day of Epeiph according to the Greeks is, according to the ancients, 1st Thoth'. There are 25 possible cases of this equation and they cover a period of 100 years within which this entry must fall. The beginning and end of the series are:

Thoth Anc.	Epeiph Grk.	Thoth Anc.	Epeiph Grk.	
1	= 25	1	= 25	i.e. in A.D. 140-3
2	= 25	1	= 24	" " " 144-7
	and so on to			
24	= 25	1	= 2	" " " 232-5
# 25	= 25	1	= 1	" " " 236-9

Some further progress can be made on the hypothesis that this sort of statement would need to be made only in entries concerning the first year of each quadrennium since it would apply also to the next three. This entry, then, should be one of a series stretching from A.D. 140 by intervals of 4 to A.D. 236. There are three columns of c. 30 lines missing between the extant cols. ii and iii and the length of three of the entries can be measured as 23 lines (1 i 10-2 ii 13), c. 20 lines (2 ii 14-1 ii 18), and c. 22 lines (4 iii 1-3 iii 3). An entry ends at the foot of col. ii and another begins, after the three-column gap, at the beginning of col. iii. This gap of c. 90 lines was probably filled by four entries at an average of 22½ lines to the entry. From this it can be calculated that the entry which I have supposed to contain a 'prediction' of the death of an emperor (1 ii 8 seq. v. introd.) is the sixth before this one, the one that may fall in the series A.D. 140, 144, etc., to A.D. 236. On the same basis the earlier entry should fall in the series A.D. 134, 138, etc., to A.D. 230. Since the predictions are probably meant to cover the period from one rising of Sirius to the next, the series is more precisely 19 July, A.D. 134-19 July, A.D. 135, 19 July, 138-19 July, 139, etc. Assuming that it is true to deduce from the exactness of the figures for the Nile rise that the 'predictions' were made after the events (v. introd. para. 3), this series should include the date of the death of an emperor. The only such date that it does include is that of the death of Septimius Severus (4 Feb., A.D. 211). ἕτερος ἐπικρατῆσει αὐτοῦ could refer to Caracalla's attempts to get rid of his father. μέγας ἔσται καὶ τιμωρήσει τοὺς ἀντιπάλους could refer to the series of murders that took place shortly after his accession (RE ii 2444). Severus died in York, but that is not necessarily inconsistent with ἐν ἰδίῳ οἴκῳ.

The entries would cover the years as follows:

1 i 3-6	A.D. 208-9
1 i 10-2 ii 13	209-10
2 ii 14-1 ii 18	210-11

four entries lost

4 iii 1-3 iii 13	215-16
3 iii 14-18	216-17

The uncertainty of the assumptions on which this reconstruction is based will be obvious. Note also that I have not been able to fit the words in 3 iii 4 and 7/8 to the historical circumstances of summer A.D. 216.

3 iii 15 θεός: cf. 4 iii 1 θεός probably means 'planet' or 'sun', cf. *Greek Horoscopes*, glossary s.v. 16 For the decans and their Egyptian names v. *Greek Horoscopes*, pp. 5 seq. If the spacing could be relied upon, probably οὐα]ρ[ε (2nd of Gemini) or φουο]ρ[ι (3rd of Gemini) would be best, but the 1st and 2nd of Aries, 2nd of Taurus, and 1st of Aquarius are all possible.

κύμ[[φωνος? e.g. The word should mean 'coincident with'.

2555. HOROSCOPE

Plate IX

c. 15.5 × 22 cm.

Later first century A.D.

An elaborate but unfinished horoscope for 13 May, A.D. 46. The papyrus has suffered considerably from warping and stripping, and the ink is much rubbed at the left and towards the end of the text. The writing runs parallel with the fibres; the reverse is blank.

The hand has some interest as a dated example of the decorated style. Most of the uprights are footed with emphatic serifs (generally horizontal, sometimes oblique); ε θ ο and c are round rather than oval; β usually has the open-topped cursive shape. Consecutive letters often join, but without the aid of added linking-strokes. Despite individual differences, the general effect is much like that of the London papyrus of Hyperides *In Philippidem* (Kenyon, *Classical Texts*, pl. 2)—an earlier and more elaborate representative of the style. The writing is not consistent (thus γ appears both with and without serif), and becomes coarser in execution as the writer's pen loses its point.

The astrological data given by this horoscope are unusually full and interesting: but the bad state of the papyrus often makes reading and interpretation difficult. I am most grateful to Professor O. Neugebauer and Mr. G. J. Toomer, who have shown the greatest patience and kindness in helping to make the text more intelligible: I have been able to cite many of their comments in the notes.

ἔτους ἕκτου θεοῦ Κλαυδίου Παχ(ών) ἡ ἡ ἔστ(ι) κατὰ τοὺς ἀρχ(αίους) Παῦν[ι] ε̄
 [ᾠρα]ς ἰ ἀρχούσης κελήνη ἐν αἰγοκέρωι μ(οιρῶν) ιθ L γ' ι' β'
].ι. .οισφῶτι. [...].ικαιτ[.]ς ἀριθμοῖς ἐν δὲ τῇ κατὰ πλάτος
 καταβαίνουσα περὶ τ[ὸ]ν ἕκτον βαθμὸν οἴκω Κρόνου ὀρίοις
 5 Ἀφροδίτης, ἧς τὸ δωδεκατη[μόριον] λήγ(ει) εἰς λέοντα

[“Ἥλιος ἐν ταύρωι] μ(οιρῶν) κθ L γ' ι' β' οἴκ[ω]
 [....., οὐ τὸ δω]δεκατημ[όριον] λήγ(ει) [εἰ]ς [

[Κρόνος ἐν αἰ]γοκέρωι μ(οιρῶν) β ι'
 [ἐν τῶι πρώτῳι c]τηριγμῶι οἴκω ἰδίωι ὀρίοις
 10 [....., οὐ τὸ] δωδεκατημ[όριον] λήγ(ει) εἰς αἰγοκέρ(ων)
 Ζ[εὺς ἐν κ]αρκίνωι μ(οιρῶν) κγ L δ
 [ἐν τῶι δευτέρωι] cτηριγ[μ]ῶι οἴκω κελήνης
 [ἰδίωι ὑψ]ώματι ὀρίοις Ἐρμού, οὐ τὸ δωδεκα[τημ[όριον]ν
 λήγ(ει) εἰς κρείον
 15 Ἀρ[ης ἐν Διδύμοις] μ(οιρῶν) κζ ..
 ταπει]νώματι
 c. 14 letters]...[
 c. 18 letters]...εἰς κρείον(ν)

A[

6, 8, 11, 15 suppl. Neugebauer 9, 12 suppl. Toomer

'Sixth year of the deified Claudius, 18 Pachon, that is 5 Pauni according to the ancients, beginning of the 10th hour:

'Moon in Capricorn, $19\frac{11}{2}$ degrees; . . . in her numbers, and in her latitudinal motion descending around the sixth Step; house of Saturn; terms of Venus; her dodecatemorian terminates in Leo.

'Sun in Taurus, $29\frac{1}{2}$ degrees; house of Venus; . . . his dodecatemorian terminates in . . .

'Saturn in Capricorn, $2\frac{1}{6}$ degrees; in his first station; in his own house; terms of . . .; his dodecatemorian terminates in Capricorn.

'Jupiter in Cancer, $23\frac{3}{8}$ degrees; in his second station; house of the moon; his own exaltation; terms of Mercury; his dodecatemorian terminates in Aries.

'Mars in Gemini, 27 . . . degrees; . . .; his own depression; . . . (his dodecatemorian terminates) in Aries.

'Venus . . .'

1 Alexandrian Pachon 18 = Egyptian Pauni 5 = 13 May, A.D. 46. Alexandria, 3 p.m.

2 ἀρχούσης: the reading is confirmed by Neugebauer and Van Hoesen, *Greek Horoscopes*, no. 190. 2.

2-5 MOON. *Computed*: longitude Capricorn $16^{\circ} 50'$, thus the moon $4^{\circ} 22'$ before the descending node. *Text*: Capricorn $10^{\circ} 55'$, in the sixth Bathmos, i.e. between 15° before the descending node and the node itself (Neugebauer). House and Terms are regular (*Greek Horoscopes*, pp. 7 and 13); on the dodecatemorian see 5 n.

3 καὶ τ[οῖ]ς ἀριθμοῖς seems very likely, though the gap is on the small side and I should have expected to see the top of the iota. The traces in the first half of the line point to another plural dative, co-ordinated by καί: I had thought of τ[οῖ]ς φ[ω]τι[μ]ῶ[ι]ς, which is palaeographically possible (if we ignore the stroke above φ), but astrologically too dubious to insert lightheartedly. At the beginning we need a verbal form to govern the dative(s): ἀφαιρούσα / ἀφαιρετική, προστιθεῖσα / προσθετική¹ are all long enough to show at the end of the lacuna, but the traces there favour]εἰ or]ει (the right tip of a high horizontal, then the top of a single upright).

4 καταβαίνουσα: the flat top of τ is clear (not ανα-); before this there is rubbed ink enough for all the missing letters. The space does not admit [κινήσει, and φορᾶι would be unexpected (Toomer). κινήσει could have been understood (Neugebauer compares Ptolemy, *Opera* i i, pp. 264 seqq. Heiberg), but there is no obvious reason why the line should have been indented.

βαθμὸν: the Bathmoi are 15° sections of the lunar orbit, counted from the northernmost point: see Vettius Valens, pp. 31, 140, Theon, ed. Halma i, p. 55 (Neugebauer).

4-5 ὀρίοις Ἀφροδίτης: the Terms here given are correct according to the 'Egyptian' system (*Greek Horoscopes*, pp. 12 seq.). The Terms of Jupiter (l. 13) are incorrect. This may be just a slip: certainly none of the other systems (Bouché-Leclercq, *Astrol. Grecque* 206-15) give correct results in both places. If the Egyptian system was used correctly for the Sun and for Saturn, we should restore 7 [ὀρίοις] Ἄρεως, οὐ κ.τ.λ.; 9-10 ὀρίοις [Ἐρμού, οὐ κ.τ.λ.

5 δωδεκατη[μόριον]: Mr. Toomer writes:

'For a full explanation of this term and its history see Housman, *Manilius* ii, pp. xxii-vi. Two methods of calculation are known:

'A. If the planet is d degrees from the beginning of sign s, then form 12d. The sign in which falls the point removed 12d degrees from the beginning of sign s is the planet's δωδεκατημ[όριον]. This procedure is found, e.g., in *Manilius* ii 726 seqq., Firmicus ii 13, 2 seqq., Heliodorus in Paul. Al. ed. Boer, pp. 44, 1 seqq.

'B. As in A, but count 12d degrees from the degree of the planet instead of the beginning of the sign. This is the method more commonly found; see, e.g., in Paul. Al. ed. Boer, pp. 45 seqq. It is erroneously supposed by Bouché-Leclercq, p. 300, n. 2, and Neugebauer-Van Hoesen, *Greek Horoscopes*, to be the only method.

'If the dodecatemoria are calculated for the positions of this papyrus by method A, they agree with the text. If calculated by method B, two discrepancies occur: Virgo instead of Leo for the moon, and Taurus instead of Aries for Jupiter.'

The dodecatemorian of Mars (l. 18), if correctly read, also conforms to method A. Using the same method we may restore λήγ(ει) [εἰ]ς [κρείον] in 7.

6-7 SUN. *Computed*: longitude Taurus 20° . *Text*: [Taurus] $29^{\circ} 55'$. 'This deviation of almost 10° could be interpreted as the result of tables of system A or B (*Greek Horoscopes*, p. 12). But then all the following positions would show about the same difference, and this seems definitely not to be the case' (Neugebauer). The more acceptable reading κε Λγ'ιβ' is palaeographically excluded.

6 οἴκ[ω] . . . : the house should be of Venus, i.e. Ἀφροδίτης. The traces do not exclude this: but the third and fourth would be more readily interpreted as ος, and there is no trace of ink after them.

7 For the Terms, see 4-5 n.; for the dodecatemorian, 5 n.

8-10 SATURN. *Computed*: longitude Sagittarius 27° . *Text*: Capricorn $2^{\circ} 6'$ (Neugebauer).

8 β[ι]': as a reading ιβ' (one-twelfth) seems at least equally possible: but omission of the zero sign would be unexpected (Toomer).

9 c]τηριγμῶι: Mr. Toomer writes:

'Neither Saturn (here) nor Jupiter (l. 12) was actually at a stationary point on the date in question. Saturn was at its first station on about 3 Apr. (and so was retrograde on 13 May); Jupiter was at its second station on about 12 Mar. But the stations (as restored) are the nearest astrologically significant points, and though they are comparatively far removed in time, they are not so distant in space ($+1^{\circ}$ for Saturn, -5° for Jupiter). For a similar latitude in the use of the term cf. *Greek Horoscopes*, no. 137a, 11 and 17 (and comm. p. 41).'

10 For the Terms, see 4-5 n.

¹ e.g. Vettius Valens 141. 1 τοῖς ἀριθμοῖς προστιθέντες (141. 4 ἀφαιρών); 203. 27 τοῖς ἀριθμοῖς προσθετική.

11-14 JUPITER. *Computed*: longitude Cancer 21°. *Text*: Cancer 23° 45' (Neugebauer).

13 [ιδίωι ψ]ώματι: on Exaltation and Depression see *Greek Horoscopes*, p. 7. No genitive follows ψώματι here, so that ιδίωι is a certain supplement. For a body to be in *its own* depression or exaltation is important; otherwise the exaltation and depression can be omitted (2-10).

13 όριο(ις) Έρμούδ: on the 'Egyptian' system this would be correct only for Cancer 13°-19°.

13-14 δωδεκα[τημόριο]ν: the final ν stands on a detached strip. If the strip is wrongly attached here, we might read δωδεκα[τημόριον λή]ν(ει) which removes an unexplained indentation. (There are no obvious signs of ink at the beginning of 14, but the papyrus is very much rubbed.)

15-18 MARS. *Computed*: longitude Gemini 15°. *Text*: [Gemini] 27° + (Neugebauer). The House should be of Mercury, and the Terms of Venus.

15 κζ. . . ζ is a probable reading. I cannot read the substantial traces which follow: apparently a vertical, closely followed by an oblique stroke which rises from left to right and is joined at the top by a long right-pointing horizontal; there is no sign of a fraction stroke. The dodecatemorian (18), if correctly calculated on system A, presupposes a longitude of 27½° or less. Perhaps, as Dr. Vandoni suggests, the sign after κζ is only an eccentrically written L, i.e. ½. After this there are no further traces of ink, but presumably the House must have been named here (cf. 12 seq.).

16 ταπεινώματι: presumably ±2 ιδίωι ταπει] (13, note): but what stood at the beginning of the line? [έν ιδίωι (Neugebauer)?—Strictly speaking (according to the system set out in *Greek Horoscopes*, p. 7) Gemini has no Depression—that of Mars belongs to its next neighbour, Cancer: compare *Greek Horoscopes*, no. 95. 77 seq.

19 The Α, like that of Αρ[ης], stands out in the margin. No doubt it began Αφροδίτη, but there are no certain traces of ink on the rest of this line or on the rest of the sheet.

2556. HOROSCOPE

6.8 × 12.5 cm

A.D. 161

α (έτους) Αντωνίνου καὶ

Ουήρου τῶν κυρίω[ν]

Μεσορῆ κβ εἰς κγ

ῶρα ζ ν[κτός]

5 Ἡλιος Λέοντι

Σελήνη Κρόνο(ς) Σκορπίω

Άρης Έρμη(ς) Παρθένω

Ζεὺς Ταύρω

Άφροδείτη Καρκίνω

10 ὠρόσκοπος Διδύμοι(ς)

ἐπ' ἀγαθῶι

'Year 1 of Antoninus and Verus the lords, Mesore 22nd to 23rd, 7th hour of the night. Sun in Leo, Moon and Saturn in Scorpio, Mars and Mercury in Virgo, Jupiter in Taurus, Venus in Cancer, Horoscope in Gemini, good luck.'

1 seqq. Ll. 5-11 were written first, and then the date added in ll. 1-4, which were crammed into the space of two ordinary lines. The given date 1 a.m. 16 Aug., A.D. 161 for the recorded positions agrees exactly with that reached by computation (information from Otto Neugebauer, who is to include this text as no. 161, viii in his supplementary list of horoscopes.

4 Possibly τῆ[ς] νυκτό(ς) or τ(ῆς) ν(υκτό(ς)) should be read.

7 Or possibly Παρθένω.

2557. HOROSCOPE

12.5 × 8.7 cm.

Third to fourth century

A horoscope for 21 September, A.D. 278: one or more lines are missing at the foot. Ll. 1 to 3 have been strengthened on the back with an additional strip of papyrus.

The reverse bears six or more lines of cursive, written along the fibres and very much faded. These lines seem not to correspond exactly with the line-ends which can be seen on the strengthening strip (though the writing may well be the same): the reinforcement was probably added when the papyrus was reused for the horoscope.

As often in horoscopes, the hand is ambitious and carefully written, but inconsistent. The writer seems to have aimed at the style in which εθo c are tall, narrow, and straight-backed: but his o is as often small and round. μ has a deep bow; ω is large and rounded. α has the cursive form; η and ν appear in both cursive and capital shapes. The writing is along the fibres.

I am indebted to Mr. G. J. Toomer for the following astrological notes.

'Horoscope for +278, 21 September (3rd hour):

	<i>computed</i>	<i>text</i>	Δ
Sun	Virgo 28°	Libra	-2°
Mercury	Libra 8°	Virgo	+8°
Venus	Libra 9°	Libra	
Mars	Scorpio 29°	Scorpio	
Jupiter	Aquarius 25°	(Missing)	
Saturn	Scorpio 18°	Scorpio	
Horoscope	Scorpio 7°	Scorpio	

(Horoscope calculated with Theon's *Handy Tables*, third clima; the rest with modern tables.) Agreement is perfect except for the sun and Mercury. In the latter case the error is largish, but Mercury is a fast-moving planet and would be in Virgo seven days later; such a discrepancy would be easily possible with ancient tables.'

ἀγαθῆ τύχη γένε[.]...[.]

ξ Πρόβου (έτους) δ'' Θ[ώ]θ κδ

ῶρα γ ἡμέρα[ς]

Ἡλιος Αφροδείτη

5 Ζυγῶ Ωρο(κόπος)

Κρόνος Άρης Σκορπίω

Έρμ[ῆς] Παρθ[ένω]

.

'With good fortune. Nativity of . . . Probus year 4, Thoth 24, 3rd hour of the day. Sun, Venus in Libra. Horoscope, Saturn, Mars in Scorpio. Mercury in Virgo. . .'

1] . . . [: the traces most resemble]ω, followed by the feet of two uprights (e.g. 'Ωρ[ι]). Yet the spacing suggests that the first trace should belong to the end of γένε[σι]ς.

At the line end there is space for two letters, and then the papyrus is broken away.

2ξ: the sign resembles a ρ with a curling tail, cut by an oblique stroke just below the head. Of the symbols known to me, that for *ἐκατοντάρχη* comes closest: γένεσις X ἐκατοντάρχου?

Θ[ὠ]θ κδ: the first θ is certain, and determines the month; κ is just discernible, and has astronomical confirmation (the sun would not be in Libra on Thoth 4 or 14).—The spacing perhaps favours Θ[ὠ]θ.

7 'Ερμ[ῆ]ς: the space allows 'Ερμ[ῆ]ς Ζεύς: but it is the scribe's custom to leave a gap after the first word of the line. (And of course such a reading would be astronomically false.)

5 ωροδ

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS OF THE ROMAN AND BYZANTINE PERIODS

2558. EDICT OF CLODIUS CULCIANUS

13 × 9.5 cm.

c. A.D. 303–6

This fragmentary edict announced some measure of the tetrarchs; the details are obscure. The text is written along the fibres in a hand which, at its best, approximates to the chancery style: this is the more interesting because the heading *ἀντιγράφον ἐξ ἀντιγράφου* suggests a local copy: cf. P. Oxy. xix, p. 83, and E. G. Turner, *Mus. Helv.* xiii (1956), p. 236.

(2nd hd.) ἀ(ντίγραφο)ν ἐξ ἀ(ντιγράφου)

Κλώδιος Κουρκιανός ὁ διασημότετος [ἐπαρχος Αἰγύπτου λέγει·

[ῆ] θ]εία πρόνοια τῶν πάντα νεικόντων αὐτοκρ[ατόρων

[κα]ῖ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων καισάρων σπουδῆν [

[. . .]. τοὺς ἐκάστης πόλεως πολέιτας ἀλλὰ καὶ το[ύ]ς

5 [. . .]. ν ὠρμημένους τὰς ἰδίας α. [. . .]ρας μὴ ε. . . κα[

[. . .] κατηξίωσαν διαταγμα[. . .]. α[. . .].]. τουτοκ[

[. . .]. α. [. . .].]. α. εκ.].]

κ[. . .]εψ[.]. ρ[. . .].]. [

ενοικ[

10 [. . .].]

1 κουλ'κιανος 4 Perhaps]ρ ἀλλὰ 5 ἰδιας

'Clodius Culcianus The most eminent prefect of Egypt says: the divine forethought of our conquering emperors, the Augusti and the most illustrious Caesars, is anxious . . . not only the citizens of each city but also those who come from . . . they have thought good . . . an edict . . .'

1 Κλώδιος Κουρκιανός: the known limits of this prefecture are 28 Feb. 303 and 29 May 306 (Lallemand, *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves* xi (1951), pp. 186 seqq.; Hübner, *Der Praefectus Aegypti* 108). Diocletian and Maximian abdicated on 1 May 305: it is not clear which set of tetrarchs is referred to in ll. 2–3.

[ἐπαρχος Αἰγύπτου λέγει: the supplement is certain, cf. *Aeg.* xviii (1938), p. 24, n. 1.

2–3 The traces at the beginning of l. 3 exclude a genitive termination: the emperors were not named. Accordingly, no supplement in 2 will much exceed the 20 letters required in l. 1. We can choose between αὐτοκρ[ατόρων ἡμῶν τῶν σεβαστῶν] (cf. P. Cair. Isid. 1. 2–3) and αὐτοκρ[ατόρων ἡμῶν σεβαστῶν] (cf. P. Cair. Isid. 5. 4–5).

4–5 'Not only the metropolitans but also those who come from villages?' The contrast as in P. Cair. Isid. 1. 15–16. Cf. Taubenschlag, *Law*² 594, note.

5 α. [. . .]ρας ε. κα[: possibly ἀρο[ύ]ρας ἐγκα[ταλείψαι, but neither ρρ nor ρ are satisfactory as readings.

6 [. . .]κατηξίωσαν: this awkward spacing is hard to avoid, unless κ was extraordinarily large.

2559. LETTER OF ARRIUS EUDAEMON

9.5 × 22.8 cm.

Second century

This interesting letter comes from official circles, and its style reflects the fact: the studied construction of ll. 5-8 and the *sperrung* in ll. 9-11 are quite out of the ordinary. The text is written along the fibres: the main hand, upright and informal with many ligatures, recalls *Greek Literary Hands* 17A, and the hand of the cursive subscription also points to the second century. On the verso stand the address and a docket, the first word of the address in a chancery hand. The completed letter was folded six times from right to left. At the time of folding, the ends of ll. 1-2 were still wet: presumably these lines were written last.

Ἄρριος Εὐδαίμων Διονυσίω
 τῷ ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν.
 ταύτην πρώτην καὶ μόνην
 ἔλαβόν σου [ἐ]πιστολήν διὰ
 5 Σαραπιακοῦ. [ὅ]τι δὲ αὐτός τε
 ἔρρωσαι καὶ τ[ο]ῖς ἔργοις ἔγκει-
 και καὶ ἐμοὶ σωθέντι σνήδῃ,
 καλῶς ποιεῖς. προσδοκῶ δέ
 * σε ἥξειν κατὰ τὰ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ
 10 πρὸς τῷ ἰδίῳ λόγῳ ἔναγχος πε-
 ρὶ τῆς συμφωνίας ἐπισταλέντα.
 ἡ σύμβιός μου καὶ τὰ παιδία σε ἀ-
 σπάζεται. εὐ παρ' ἡμῶν του . υ-
 ριλλοὺς προσαγόρευε καὶ τὴν
 15 μητέρα [[Στεφανοῦν]] Δημητροῦν.
 (2nd hd.) ἐρρώσθαί σε εὐχομαι, ἀδελφὲ
 τιμώτατε.

VERSO (3rd hd.) Διονυσίω (1st hd.?) ἀδελφῷ στρα(τηγῶν) Ἀπολλ(ωνοπολίτου)
 (4th hd.) π(αρά) Ἄρρι(ο) Εὐδαίμ(ονος)

6 Possibly εἰκει- 9 ὑπο 10 ἰδιω Verso 1 στρα/ απολλ 2 π' αρρι° ευδαμ

'Arrius Eudaemon to Dionysius his brother, greetings. This is the first and only letter I've had from you—the one Sarapiacus brought. I am glad that you yourself keep well, and apply yourself to your work, and share my happiness at my recovery. I expect you will be coming, in accordance with the instructions which the Idios Logos recently issued about the agreement. My wife and children send you their best wishes. Present our compliments to . . . and your mother Demetrous. (2nd hd.) I pray for your health, most honoured brother.

(Verso) 'To Dionysius my brother, strategus of the Apollonopolite nome.' (Docket) 'From Arrius Eudaemon.'

5-8 [ὅ]τι κ.τ.λ., καλῶς ποιεῖς: this construction must be added to Steen's list (*Class. et Med.* i 139 seqq.).

7 ἐμοὶ σωθέντι σνήδῃ: cf. Hdt. iii 36 Κροίσῳ μὲν σνήδεσθαι ἔφη περιέοντι; Men. *Dysk.* 965 seq. σνήθεντες κατηγοριωμένοις ἡμῖν; Longus iv 33 τῷ Διονυσοφάνει σνήδοντο παῖδα εὐρόντι; 1663 4 seq. σνήδομαί γε [τ]ῷ φίλῳ σου . . . μέγῳ (where the editors wrongly translate 'congratulate you on . . .').

13-14 του . υριλλοὺς: two letters stood after του; the ink is clear, but I cannot identify them in this hand. τοὺς Κυρίλλοις can be read only by assuming a malformed or corrected ε and a quite anomalous κ.

15 [[Στεφανοῦν]]: this slip makes it clear that the two men were not literally brothers. ἀδελφός need mean no more than φίλος: cf. P. Mich. viii 521, 1, note.

VERSO. Henne lists no Dionysius as strategus for either Apollonopolite nome (*Liste des Stratèges* 1*-2*; 2-3); nor does Mussies, *P. Lugd. Bat.* xiv 15.

2560. OFFICIAL LETTER

14 × 20 cm.

A.D. 258

By this letter the strategus of the Lycopolite nome requires the strategus of the Hermopolite to arrest and deliver a certain doctor to his agents, who presumably carried the letter. The writer had first applied to the acting-nomarch of Antinoopolis and a doctor of the same name as the wanted man had been arrested in that region and sent to Lycopolis. It then came to light that the man in question was to be found in a village of the Hermopolite nome. Most of the details of the case are lost in the extensive damage. There are traces of an address which ran downwards along the fibres of the verso but it is now illegible.

[.....]αιος δ κ[αί] Λαίτος στρατηγός Λυκοπολίτου
 [Αύρηλιώ Χαιρ]ήμονι τῷ καὶ Σπαρτιάτη στρατηγῷ Ἐρ-
 [μοπολίτου τῷ] φίλτάτῳ χαίρειν·
 [.....]υπλιος ἢ καὶ ὠ[ς] ἄλλως χρηματίζων
 5 [.....]...[.....] ἐκ τ[ῆ]ς προνοίας καὶ κελευ-
 [.....]...[.....]ω. ου[.....]...[.....]απα...[.....]
 [.....]...[.....]ελη[.....]...[.....]αἰ...[.....]
 κα[.....]καὶ...[.....]υ[.....]π. τῆως α. δ. ω
 θη[.....]ου Αύρηλιώ Ὠριγένει τῷ καὶ Ἀπολλωνίῳ
 10 διαδεχ[ομέν]ῳ τὴν νομαρχίαν τῆς Ἀντινοῦ πρόλευς κα<ί>
 ἐκεῖ[ν]ος κατὰ τῆν αὐτοῦ ἐπιμέλειαν εὐρῶν ὁμώνυμον
 αὐτοῦ ἄλ[λον τιν]α ἰατρὸν ἀπέ[ε]στειλεν ἐνταῦθα· ἐκεῖ-
 νος δὲ εἴ[φη αὐτὸ]ν εἶναι ἐν κώμῃ Πῶκει τοῦ Κουσσίτου
 ἄν[ω] τρ[ὶ] ὑ[πὸ] ρε νομοῦ· εἶ ποίησεις κατὰ τὴν προσοῦ-
 15 σάν σοι ἐ[πι]μέ[λει]αν τοῦτον παραδοῦς Κουλώτι Θα-
 τρήτος κ[αί] Ἄς[.....]...[.....]ετι Νείλου· ἀλλὰ καὶ Πεβων Καλλνίκου
 Καλι. ου[.....]...[.....]ρα[.....]...[.....]ηραδ[.....]
 τα ἐν τῇ ἐμ[.....]...[.....]αραδ[.....]...[.....]εικ[.....]
 λοχ[.....]...[.....]γνώ[.....]...[.....]τηρουσει[.....]...[.....]ως...[.....]κε[.....]
 20 λε[.....]...[.....]του[.....]...[.....]η[.....]...[.....]επ[.....]...[.....]ω[.....]...[.....]υδ[.....]...[.....]να[.....]
 λιο[.....]...[.....]δωρο[.....]...[.....]ση[.....]...[.....]θη· (2nd hd.) ἐρῶσθ[αί] σε εὐχομαι
 φίλτατε

(3rd hd.?) (ἔτους) ε' Αὐτοκ[ρατό]ρων Κ[αὶ] Ἄρων Π[ο]υπλίου Λικινίου Οὐαλεριαν(οῦ)
 καὶ Πουπλίον [Λικ]ινίου Οὐαλεριανοῦ Γαλλινοῦ Γερμανικῶν
 25 Μεγίστων Εὐσεβῶν Εὐτ[υ]χῶν κα[ί] Π[ο]υπλίου Λικινίου Κορνηλίου
 Καλωνίου Οὐαλεριανοῦ τ[ο]ῦ ἐπιφαν[ε]στάτου Καίσαρος Σεβαστῶν·
 Μεσορῆ ι.

... aeus, also called Laetus, strategus of the Lycopolite nome, to Aurelius Chaeremon, also called Spartiates, strategus of the Hermopolite nome, his very dear friend, greeting.

... Publius, or however else he is styled ...

... to Aurelius Horigenes, also called Apollonius, acting-nomarch of Antinoopolis, and he, in accordance with his duty, finding another doctor with the same name as the wanted man, sent him here. But he said that the wanted man was in the village of Pokis in the upper toparchy of Koussae in the nome under your control. You will do right in accordance with your duty if you hand the wanted man over to Koulos, son of Thatres, and As ... , son of Nilus. ...

(2nd hd.) 'I pray for your health, my very dear friend.

(3rd hd.) 'In the fifth year of the Emperors Caesars Publius Licinius Valerianus and Publius Licinius Valerianus Gallienus Germanici Maximi Pii Felices and Publius Licinius Cornelius Saloninus Valerianus, the most noble Caesar, Augusti. Mesore, 1.th.'

1 Λαίτος: a new strategus. The name is rare; Preis. *NB* has only one reference to it not in the name of the prefect Q. Maecius Laetus, i.e. P. Flor. 2, 50 (corr. Wilcken, *Archiv* iv 425); cf. *Recherches de Papyrologie* ii (1962), p. 40, l. 21.

2 Spartiates was already known as strategus, but less precisely dated, from P. Princ. ii 30. He was presumably an Oxyrhynchite, cf. P. Ryl. 683, 4, 2126 4 and perhaps 2107 3, 2139 6, 2140 2. In 2108 of A.D. 259 his name is perhaps to be restored in the first line, where the edition has Αύρηλιος Σεραπίων δ καὶ ...]ριων στρατηγός Ἐρμιοπ(όλεως). Σερα[is a likely reading of the traces before the gap. Those after it are now very faint but the tail of the supposed ρ read by GH suits Χαίρημον, though this seems rather long for the space.

4 Πούπλιος: it is not clear who this was but it is perhaps more likely that he was an official who required the doctor's presence than that he was the doctor himself.

7 ἰα[τρ]ο[ς] seems not unlikely, but I cannot confirm it.

8 Ὠριγένει: a new (acting-) nomarch; perhaps the same man as no. 715 in Pistorius, *Indices Antinoopolitani* (p. 38), but the inscription referred to (*IGRR* 1143) is about twenty-seven years earlier, c. A.D. 232. The reference there to *IGRR* 1070 is false and I have not been able to correct it.

13 Πῶκει: cf. *CPHerm.* 127, pp. 69, 70-75, 80, 83, 84. The name should be added to the list for Κουσσίτης ἄνω in J. Vergote, 'Toponymes anciens et modernes du nome Hermopolite', *Studi Calderini-Paribeni*, p. 384.

16 Ἄς[.....]...[.....]ετι: not in Preis. *NB*.

Πεβων: not in Preis. *NB*, but cf. Πεβῆς, Πεβῶς.

17 Καλι. ου: perhaps the grandfather's name but I cannot identify it. κ is a possibility—the trace is an upright close to ι—and a Καλ. κ[is known from SB 5335, 1.

19 τῆς οὐσίας[is a possibility, which would suggest that the doctor was a debtor of the fiscus, but I cannot see anything to confirm this.

20 Αὐ[ρη]λι[ο]ς. [Ἰ]α[δω]ρο[ς].]?

23 The date is in a more cursive hand than the body of the letter but it may be by the same scribe.

2561. OFFICIAL LETTER FROM HIERAX TO HERCULANUS

18.5 × 20 cm.

Between A.D. 293 and 305

This letter is written with a fine pen on papyrus of excellent quality in a handsome sloping cursive hand showing strong Latin influence; its language contains a high proportion of Latin words, some of which appear here for the first time in a Greek text. The reference in l. 15 to Galerius as 'Maximianus Caesar' dates it between 293, when he became Caesar, and 305, the year of his accession as emperor. The writer was evidently an official of high standing;¹ the fact that he puts his name after that of the addressee implies that the latter was of even higher rank, or at least his equal (see Bell, Martin, Turner, and van Berchem, *The Abinmaeus Archive*, pp. 22 seq.). In ll. 4 seq. the writer speaks of a *praepositus* as τῷ κυρίῳ μου ἀδελφῷ; there is further mention of *praepositi* in connexion with *petitiones* and *delegationes* in l. 9. The nature of the matters with which the writer is concerned suggests that the *praepositi* mentioned

¹ Mr. T. C. Skeat at first suggested that he might be identical with]αξ ἐπίτρο[πος] τῆς κατωτέρω Θεβ[αίδος], the writer of P. Lond. 1260, a peremptory letter (the date of which is missing) to the strategus of the Hermopolite nome about shipbuilding requirements, which he has published in full as an appendix to *Papyri from Panopolis in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin*, pp. 153 seqq. He has subsequently decided against the identification on the ground that 'Ἰέρ]αξ would hardly fill the lacuna; see *ib.*, p. 154.

here are military commanders rather than civil officials, with duties comparable with those in which we find Flavius Abinnaeus and his colleagues engaged later in the fourth century; for their responsibilities in connexion with the collection of the *annona*, see the introduction of *The Abinnaeus Archive*, pp. 16 seq.; van Berchem, *L'Armée de Dioclétien et la réforme constantinienne*, pp. 70 seq.; the present text supplies interesting information about the preliminary mechanism of these exactions. References to military *praepositi* as early as this or earlier are not uncommon in the papyri. P. Thead. 4 (A.D. 307) mentions one in command of the camp at Narmouthis in the Fayûm at a date close to that of our document; the Latin papyri from Dura have frequent references to military *praepositi* in the third century.

κυρίῳ ἀδελφῶ Ἡεροῦλανῶ Ἱέραξ
 εὐ πράττειν.
 τὰ μὲν γράμματά σου κομικάμενος, κύριέ μου ἀδελφέ, πανή-
 γυριν ἡγαγον· ὡς δὲ καὶ τῷ κυρίῳ μου ἀδελφῶ Ἡλιοδώρῳ
 5 τῷ πραιποσίτῳ διὰ δημοσίας ἐπιστολῆς φανερόν πεποι-
 ηκα, χρη. [(c. 9 letters)] . . . α διὰ τῆ[ν θεί]αν τύχην
 τῶν δεσποτ[ῶν ἡμ]ῶν [καὶ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτ]ων Καισάρων·
 κελεύεως δὲ οὔσης τοῦ κυρίου μου τοῦ [δι]ασημοτάτου καθολικο[ῦ]
 πέμπειν τοὺς [π]ρ[αιπο]σίτους πρ[ὸ]ς με τὰς πετιτίνας καὶ
 10 ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πρὸς τὴν τάξειν τὴν καθολικὴν, ἵνα αἱ δηλη-
 γατίονες ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου μου τοῦ διασημοτ[άτ]ου καθολικο[ῦ]
 ἐκπεμφθ[ῶ] (c. 17 letters) . . . ατα[. . .] στρατη[. . .].
 προστάξαι . . . [(c. 30 letters)] . . . εν . . . ε
 15 ἐπι[. . .]ν[. . .] (c. 23 letters) μίαν τοῦ] δωνατίου
 γενεθλίου τοῦ δεσπότην ἡμῶν Μαξιμιανοῦ τοῦ Καίσαρος,
 ἄλλην δὲ στυπενδίου καλανδῶν Σεπτεμβρίων, καὶ τὴν
 τρεῖτην καλγάμου· αἱ μὲν πετιτίνες ἐπὶ τὸν κύριόν
 μου τὸν διασημότατον κ[αθολικὸ]ν ἀνηνέχθησαν·
 ἐπιδὰν δὲ αἱ <δη>ληγατίονες ἀ[παν]τῶσιν, εὐθέως ὑπ' ἐμοῦ
 20 δι[ὰ] τα[χ]υδρομού ἐπ[ι]ταλ[ή]σοντ[αι]. θεοὶ σε σώζοιεν
 μετὰ τῶ[ν] φιλ[ι]τάτων διὰ παγ[τός].
 Verso: X ἀδελφῶ Ἡερ[ου]λανῶ.

1 Ἱέραξ 6 After χρη: bottom of diagonal: γ, η, κ, λ, μ, or π. After first lacuna: top of tall upright with loop, above line, the rest of which is lost; η likely, but ε or ι possible; see comm.]αδια: the first α is of the type (with long tail) generally (but not always) used at the ends of words in this hand. First α separated from δια by a space 10 l. τάξιν 12 After φ, a small space, but perhaps no letter lost before the next, read by us as θ, made large as in l. 20. After first lacuna, probably]ηματα; next: bottom of diagonal. After this, narrow letter or perhaps nothing lost. Then probably ε.

Then indeterminate traces of two or three letters. Next, before στρατη[, c probable. At end, trace of horizontal, probably top of c 13 At end: before εν: δε possible. Between εν and ε: first letter could be η or π; second τ or υ 14 l. ἐπ(ε)ί? After ο: π, or υ followed by first limb of (e.g.) ν. Before lacuna: trace of diagonal 17 l. τρίτην 19 l. ἐπ(ε)ιδάμ 21 Below line, beginning of horizontal stroke.

(ll. 1-12) 'To my lord and brother Herculanus: Hierax, best wishes. When I received your letter, my lord and brother, I made festival. But, as I have made clear to my lord our brother Heliodorus the praepositus through a public dispatch, . . . on account of (?) the divine fortune of our masters and of the most glorious Caesars; since, however, it is the order of my lord the most illustrious Catholicus that the praepositi shall send the applications to me, and (that these shall be forwarded) by me to the Catholicus' officium, so that the delegations (may be?) sent out by my lord the most illustrious Catholicus . . . ' (ll. 14-21) ' . . . one for the birthday donative of our lord Maximianus Caesar, another for stipendium of the first of September, and the third for salgamum, the applications have been delivered to my lord the most illustrious Catholicus; when the (de)legations arrive, they shall be dispatched to you by me immediately by courier. May the gods preserve you with all those dearest to you continually.' (Address:) ' . . . to his brother Herculanus'.

2 εὐ πράττειν: a form of greeting found occasionally at various dates in the Roman period, at the beginnings of letters (in place of the more usual χαιρεῖν): 822 (c. A.D. 1); 1770 6 (3rd cent.); P. Ross.-Georg. iii 2, 1 (3rd cent.), where see note; PSI 1445, 2 (3rd cent.); 2600, 2, 2603, 2 (4th cent.); P. Fouad 80, 2 (4th cent.); PSI 207, also from Oxyrhynchus and dated by its editors to the third or fourth century, begins: κυρίῳ μου πατρὶ Σεφάνῳ Ἱέραξ εὐ πράττειν. Also at the ends of letters, as PSI 833; 834.

3 seq. πανήγυριν: for metaphorical uses of the word, see LSJ, s.v. (i 3).

5 διὰ δημοσίας ἐπιστολῆς: the expression is unfamiliar.

6 χρημ[άτων μὲν δ]ε[όμειθα] (as Turner suggests) would make excellent sense and is possible; it must be noted, however, that the trace of a tall letter which might be read as ε (see textual n.) leaves rather little space for the end of the word. We should also have to assume that the second ε did not extend above the line, as it generally does in this hand. Or possibly χρη μ[έν]; but if so we cannot complete the restoration.

9 πετιτίνας: Youtie suggests that this word is equivalent to αἵτησις, and represents an application of which the delegatio is the result.

9 seq. It seems inevitable to assume an anacoluthon here; see the translation. We owe the reading πρ[ὸ]ς με τὰς to Youtie.

12 ἐκπεμφθ[ῶ]σι, followed by an expression meaning 'I have decided', or sim.?]ἡματα τε τοῖς στρατη[γοῖ]ς could be read at the end.

14 ἐπ(ε)ί? Cf. ἐπ(ε)ιδάμ in l. 19. After this, δ π[. . .]ν[. . .] or οἶν[. . .]ν[. . .]?

15 γενεθλίου, κ.τ.λ.: the date of Galerius' birthday was, as Skeat points out, hitherto unknown; this would suggest that it was about August.

17 καλγάμου: this is the Latin salgamum, for which see Cod. Theod. 7, 9, §§ 1 seqq.; Cod. Just. 12, 42; both have the heading *De salgamo hospitibus non praebendo*; the latter begins: 'Ne quis comitum vel tribunorum aut praepositorum aut militum nomine salgami gratia, id est, culcitas lignum oleum a suis extorqueat hospitibus.' Skeat points out that it occurs in Greek also in P. Chester Beatty Panop. 2, 246; 286; both passages relating to the issue εἰς καλγάμου λόγον of oil and salt to military units. καλγαμαρικός is found in P. Ross.-Georg. iii 38, 11 seq. (6th cent.): see the editor's note there, p. 160; and (on salgama, καλγαμάριος, and related words) L. Robert, *Hellenica* xi-xii (1960), pp. 39 seqq.; M. Besnier in Daremberg-Saglio; A. Hug in P.-W. *RE* (1920), s.v. Salgama.

2562. EXTRACT FROM A REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

27 x 25 cm.

After A.D. 330

This text is written on the verso of 2570 (dated 329), along the fibres, in a fluent but inelegant hand. It consists of the latter part of an extract from some proceedings in which, after the reading of a pronouncement by the Prefect Flavius Magnilianus, of which only the end is preserved, an authority whose designation is probably to be expanded to δ λογοθ(έτης) is interrogating four peasants. Professor Youtie (to whom a number of readings and suggestions are due) interprets the situation as follows: Didymus (ll. 7; 9; 11) was the tax collector, but the four peasants were responsible for the collection in their village; they have been charged with collecting more than they have turned over to Didymus; and their answer—that at any rate they have produced the full amount of taxes which they were required to raise—is an evasive one, though perhaps not unsatisfactory from the government's point of view. The literal citation ends in l. 11 and the writer sums up the results of the case. In the concluding clause the writer of the extract seems to be quoting himself; unfortunately the mutilation of l. 15 makes the point of his remark obscure.

[.....].....[

[...].....* [...]ω παραρχειν ει τα αποδειξις τῆ[ς]

γεγενημένης ὑπὸ π...δ.... αἰρέσεως παραρχοῦ. ἔρρωσο.

μ[ε]τὰ [τῆ]ν ἀνάγνωσιν / ὁ λογοθ(έτης?) εἰ(πεν)· τί λέγουσι <ν> οἱ παρόντες ἄγροικοι

5 *Σερῆνος καὶ Πέτρ[ος]ώνιος καὶ Χωρ[ὸ]ς καὶ Ὠρίω[ν]; ἐπηκούσατε*

[τῆ]ς προστάξε[ω]ς τοῦ κυρίου [μου] δια(ημοτάτου) εἰπάρχου τῆ[ς] Αἰγύπτου
Φλαυίου Μαγνιλιανοῦ

[καὶ] τῶν ὑπὸ Διδύμου κατατεθέντων ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων

ψ[ς] εἴη πληρωθεὶς τῶν εἰδῶν αὐτοῦ· κατάρθεθ[αι] τοῖνυν καὶ ὑμῖς

τί ἐπράξατε ἐπὶ τούτοις ἢ πῆρα ἐλάττωσεν ὑμᾶς ὁ Διδύμος.

10 οἱ προειρημένοι ἀ[π]ε[κ]ρίθην (ἴνα)· εἰ τι ἐκρίθην ἐν τῶ κυριακῶ, δεδώκαμεν

καὶ ἐπίσθημεν πρὸς ἑαυτοῦςε... καὶ ἡ προφορὰ Διδύμου

καὶ ἡ τῶν ἀγροίκων ἐμφέρεται τοῖς ὑπ[ο]μνήμασιν· τῆ[ς] γὰρ προ[ο]στ[ά]ξε[ω]ς

τοῦ κυρίου μου δια(ημοτάτου) ἐπάρχου προστατούσης τὰ ταῖς ἀληθείαις χρεω-
[στού-]

μενα ἀποκατασταθῆναι, τούτο γεγένηται κατὰ τὰ προσφωνηθ[έντα],

15 ὡς εἴπο[ν] [ἐπια...]υ[...]εμ[...]ντων μερῶν ἐπὶ ὑπομνημά-

των.

2 l. ἀποδείξει 3 It would be possible to read *Ἀγρ* Προδρομῶ 4 λογοθ) seems the most likely reading, but there is an unexplained mark above the second ο. ει (= εἰ(πεν)): not quite certain; just possibly ἡρ(ώτησεν) 5 Πέτρος immediately corrected to Πετρώιος 6 [δια(ημοτάτου)]; cf. 13, below 8 κατάρθεθ[αι]: correction above cancelled letters. 1. ὑμῖς 9 ἡτέρο: l. ὑπέρο (Youtie) 10 ἀ[π]ε[κ]ρίθην 11 l. ἐπίσθημεν. ἑαυτοῦς: the writing is partly effaced, but the reading is certain. Then a diagonal: λ, υ, or χ; this is followed by traces of probably four letters. After ε: perhaps .ε... 15 l. εἶπον? The writer apparently began to write εἴπομεν

‘... if he produces the proofs of the ... which took place under ... Farewell.’ After the reading, the auditor (?) said: ‘What do the peasants who are present, Serenus and Petronius and Chōous and Horion, say? You have heard the ordinance of my lord the most illustrious Prefect of Egypt, Flavius Magnilianus, and what has been deposed by Didymus in the memoranda, that he has received in full his charges in kind; depose yourselves therefore what you exacted besides this, beyond the demands made upon you by Didymus.’ The aforementioned peasants answered: ‘Whatever we were assessed in the government account, we paid; and we are satisfied for ourselves ...’ And the deposition of Didymus and that of the peasants are entered in the memoranda; for the ordinance of my lord the most illustrious Prefect ordaining that the sums which were actually owing should be paid up, this was done according to directions; as I said (?) ... parts in (the) memoranda.’

2 seq. εἰ τὰς ἀποδείξε[ς] . . . παραρχοῦ: cf. 2111, 5.

3 ὑπό, κ.τ.λ.: for a possible reading of the doubtful letters, see textual note. No official of this name, whatever his function may have been, is known from elsewhere.

αἰρέσεως: we can propose no satisfactory interpretation of the word here.

4 μ[ε]τὰ [τῆ]ν ἀνάγνωσιν: cf. SB 7696 (first published by Skeat and Wegener, *JEA* xxi, pp. 224 seqq.) *passim*; and especially their note on p. 225; also P. Rend. Harris 160, 13.

ὁ λογοθ(έτης?) *WB* cites a number of texts from the second century in which a functionary so named is mentioned: BGU 77; 245; 969; Mitt. *Chr.* ii 87 = P. Lond. 196, corrected by Grenfell, *CR* xii, p. 435; *Chr.* ii 88 = P. Cattaoui (*Archiv* iii, pp. 55 seqq.); to which must be added SB 7516 and 7558 (the latter first published by Boak in *JEA* xviii, pp. 69 seqq.). A mention of the word from the fifth century, in P. Strassb. 35, is uninformative. The function of the λογοθέτης, ‘auditor’ or ‘scrutineer’, who appears as a person of some standing specially appointed in cases demanding financial investigation, is discussed by Meyer in *Archiv* iii, pp. 100 seqq.

6 Φλαυίου Μαγνιλιανοῦ: evidently the same as Magninianus ‘the Cappadocian’ mentioned in St. Athanasius, *Epistulae Heortasticae* ann. 330; *Kephalaia* ann. 330 (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* xxvi, cols. 1352, 1366); see Vandersleyen, *Chronologie des préfets d’Égypte de 284 à 395*, p. 14. Since these texts of Athanasius are extant only in Syriac, from which the name Magninianus is transliterated, the spelling of it here is probably to be preferred.

8 αὐτοῦ: as Youtie remarks, the pronoun looks odd here, but the reading is certain.

11 ἑαυτοῦς: = ἡμᾶς αὐτούς; see LSJ, s.v. ἑαυτοῦ (ii).

12 ἐμφέρεται: of entering in records, cf. 2235 21 seq.

2563. PETITION TO EPISTRATEGUS

7.2 × 27.3 cm.

c. A.D. 170

Sarapion, intendant of the priestly tribes in Oxyrhynchus, has a story of violence and theft, which he here presents for the third time. His narrative is written on damaged papyrus in a notably cramped and ugly hand; at the end it degenerates into asyndetic notes. What we have, therefore, is probably just a draft.

Ἀκυλίῳ Καπιτωλείῳ
 τῷ κρατίστῳ ἐπιστρ(ατήγῳ)
 παρὰ Σαραπίωνος Ἰέ-
 ρακος ἀπ' Ὁξυρύγχων
 5 πόλεως ἐπιμελητοῦ
 Σαραπίου φυλῶν καὶ τῶν
 ἄλλων ἱερῶν {καὶ} τῆς
 πόλεως. ἐνέτυχόν
 σοι, κύριε, διὰ βιβλιδίου
 10 ἐξιοῦντός σου καὶ ὑπέ-
 ρχου ὥστε ἀνάπεμψαι
 τὰ βιβλίδια καὶ μέχρι τού-
 του οὐκ ἀνεδόθη μοι
 περί τε ὕβρεως ἢ.
 15 μοι ἐγένετο ὑπὸ Πλουτί-
 ωνος Διονυσοδώρου καὶ
 τοῦ γαμβροῦ αὐτοῦ. ἐνέτυ-
 χον δὲ καὶ Ἡρακλείδῃ
 βασιλικῷ γραμματεῖ δια-
 20 δεχομένῳ καὶ τὰ κατὰ
 τὴν στρατηγίαν, καὶ ἀ-
 νήγκασεν ἐνὶ τῶν πε-
 ρὶ αὐτὸν ὑπηρετῶν
 Θράσυλλον ἐφιδεῖν τὴν
 25 περὶ ἐμὲ διάθεσιν περὶ
 τῆς γεγενημένης μοι
 ὕβρεως, καὶ προσφώνη-
 σις ἰατροῦ ἐπηκολούθη-

2563. PETITION TO EPISTRATEGUS

30 *εν* περὶ ὧν εἶχον τότε
 τραυμάτων. οὐ μόνον
 ἐμὲ ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν υἱόν
 μου καὶ τὴν τροφὸν αὐ-
 τοῦ Ἡρᾶν ἠκίκατο αὐ-
 τοὺς πληγαῖς *εν*...[...]
 35 κληρονομίας *υ*...[... ἐν-]
 δομενείας ἧς κατέλει-
 ψεν τῇ Ἡρᾶτι ὁ ἀδελφός
 αὐτῆς Σαραπίων μετὰ
 τελευτῆν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔδη-
 40 μοσιώθη διὰ τοῦ ἀρχιδικα-
 στοῦ τὸ γράμμα ὥστε αὐ-
 τὴν εἶναι κληρονόμον.
 οὕτως οὖν ἀθάδως χρη-
 κάμενος κωμότης ὦν
 45 ἐπῆλθεν ἡμεῖν. ἐπὶ σὲ
 κατέφυγον τὸν πάντων
 σωτήρα καὶ εὐεργέτην
 ἀκοῦσαί μου πρὸς αὐτόν.
 οὐδεμία βία γέινεται
 50 ἐν τοῖς εὐτυχεστάτοις
 τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἀνρηλίου
 Ἀ[γτωνεῖνο]υ καίσαρος τοῦ
 [...].ἡ ἐπιστρα
 [...].ἡμερ
 55 [...].ἡμα

2 ἐπιστρῶ 3 ἱε- 7 ἱερῶν 14 Perhaps ἢ ἐ-μοὶ 24 l. ἐπ- 28 ἰατροῦ 31 υἱόν
 34 Perhaps ἐνεκα (the tail of α extended to fill the line) 35 Perhaps ὑπερ [ἐν-] 49 l. γίνηται

'To Aquilius Capitolinus the most excellent epistrategus, from Sarapion son of Hierax, from Oxyrhynchus, intendant of the tribes of the Serapeum and of the other temples of the city. I appealed to you, lord, by petition requesting you—and you promised to send the petition up, and so far it has not been returned to me—about the outrage which was done me by Ploution son of Dionysodorus and his son-in-law. I also appealed to Heraclides the royal scribe, who was also acting strategus, and he had one of the aides on his staff, Thrasyllus, look over my condition in respect of the outrage done me, and there followed a declaration by the doctor about the wounds I had then—it was not only me but also my son and his nurse Heras, he maltreated them with blows because of a legacy, on account of the furniture which Heras' brother Sarapion left her after his death, and the

document was registered through the archidikastes so that she inherited. This then was the arrogant treatment with which this villager attacked us. I have sought shelter with you, the saviour and benefactor of all, to hear my case against him. Let no violence occur in the so happy days of our lord Aurelius Antoninus Caesar'

1 *Ἀκυλίω Καπιτωλείνω*: two Berlin petitions are addressed to the same epistrategus: *W. Chr.* 364 A[. . .] *ἡλίω Καπιτωλείνω*; *M. Chr.* 121 *ἡλίω Καπιτωλείνω*. (Martin wrongly restored *Αἰμιλίω* in both places: *Les Epistratèges* 183.) *M. Chr.* 121 can be dated between Nov. 169 and Nov. 170; *W. Chr.* 364 belongs to the same period: see Martin l.c., note 1, and (on the royal scribe Serenus) Henne, *Liste des Stratèges* 68.

5-8 I have found no parallel for this title. Epimeletai were usually appointed to a single temple: for the property of Jupiter Capitolinus at Arsinoe (*W. Chr.* 96: A.D. 215), for the Hermeion of Memphis (P. Thead. 34, 14: A.D. 324), for an unidentified temple at Arsinoe (P. Strassb. 72, 1-2: 3rd cent. A.D.). Cf., for the cult of Ptolemy Soter at Coptos, P. Fouad Inv. 211 i 21-22 (*BIFAO* 41, 47). Our text makes it clear that such offices existed in the metropoleis even before the municipal reforms of Septimius Severus: contrast Oertel, *Die Liturgie* 284; *W. Chr.* p. 125.

7-8 {καὶ} τῆς πόλεως: it seems unlikely that Sarapion was also ἐπιμελητῆς τῆς πόλεως, and the title itself has little to commend it: cf. P. Lips. 58, 11 (A.D. 371) ἐπιμελητῆς Πανός <πόλεως?>; *SPP* xx 243, 11-12 (7th cent.). I have followed Youtie in deleting καί.

10 ἐξιόντος σου: understand ἀξιόντος ce rather than ἐξίοντος (or ἀξιόντος) σου.

18-19 This scribe is not in the lists of Henne and Mussies (*P. Lugd. Bat.* xiv).

21-22 ἀνήγαγεν ἐνί: the Koine commonly uses ἀναγκάζειν in weakened senses (Bauer, *NT Wb* s.v.). Here it has the construction, as well as the sense, of ἐπιστέλλειν (BGU 614, 4); the usual accusative reasserts itself with Θράκυλλον.

23 The aide served as official witness at the medical examination: *JJP* xi-xii (1957-8) 163.

27-28 προσφώνησις ἰατροῦ: see P. Oslo iii 95 and P. Merton ii 89, introductions; *JJP* vi (1952), pp. 263 seq.; *Symb. Taubenschlag* i 182 seqq.

39 seqq. On this function of the archidikastes, see Koschaker, 'Sav. Zt.', *RA* xxix (1908), p. 2.

44 The contrast of κομῆτης and πολίτης occurs in the 2nd-cent. tax list PSI 819, 8-10, but it is not common until the 4th cent. See Taubenschlag, *Law*² 594, note.

48 ἀκοῦσαι: ἀξιῶν (as, e.g., at P. Mich. vi 422, 32 seqq.) is to be understood or inserted. Alternatively, we could write ἀκουσαι, i.e. ἀκουσε, an aorist imperative (Kapsomenakis, *Voruntersuchungen* 28 seqq.). Or is the form too vulgar for this writer?

53] . η: the trace suggests]ς;]τ (τῆ) and]θ (ἐδῶ]θη, cf. 2342, 40) are excluded. [κυρίου καιροῖ]ς fits the space: cf. P. Mich. iii 174, 20 seqq. . . . ἐν τοῖς εὐτυχισταῖσι τοῦ μεγίστου αὐτοκράτορος καιροῖς καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐπαφρο[δ]είτω σου ἡγεμονία ἀνεπηρέαστως ἐν τῇ ἰδία διαζῆν καὶ ὄ βεβοηθημένος. διευτύχει. Certainly, the writer might not have noticed the repetition of κυρίου (cf. 51); but ἡ ἐπιστρα-]τηγ- remains awkward.

2564. NOTIFICATION OF DEATH

7.2 × 12 cm.

A.D. 154

A document of a type well represented in the papyri; see O. Montevocchi, *Aegyptus* xxvi (1946), pp. 111 seqq., for an analysis of examples.¹ Written in a small cursive hand along the fibres; the verso is blank. (Read with Mr. A. Schachter, to whom the notes are due.)

Θεογένει τῷ καὶ Λαδικηνῶι
 γραμμα(τεῖ) πόλεως
 παρὰ Ἀγαθοκλείας τῆς καὶ
 Ἀπολλωνίας Ἰσχυρίωνος ἀπ' [']Ο]-
 5 ξυρύγχων πόλεως μετὰ κυρίου
 τοῦ υἱοῦ Ἰσχυρίωνος Θέωνος.
 Cαραπᾶς δοῦλος μου ἄτεχνος
 ἀναγραφόμενος ἐπ' ἀμφόδου
 Ἐρμαί[ο]υ ἐτελεύτησεν τῷ
 10 ἐνεστώτι μηνὶ Ἀθύρ, διὸ ἀξιῶ
 ἀναγραφῆναι τοῦτ[ο]ν ἐν τῇ
 τῶν ὁμοίων τάξει ὡς προσήκει,
 καὶ ὁμνῶ Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα
 Τίτον Αἴλιον Ἀδριανὸν
 15 Ἀντωνεῖνον Σεβαστὸν Εὐ[εβ]ῆ
 ἀλη[θ]ῆ εἶναι τὰ προγεγρ[άμμεν]α.
 (ἔτους) ιζ' Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τίτου
 Αἰλίου Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀντωνεῖνου
 Σεβαστοῦ Εὐ[εβ]ῆ[οῦς] Ἀθύρ κ̅ε.

'To Theogenes, also called Ladikenos, scribe of the city, from Agathoclea, also called Apollonia, daughter of Ischyron, of the city of Oxyrhynchus, with her guardian, her son Ischyron, son of Theon. My slave Sarapas, who had no trade, and was registered in the quarter of the Hermaeum, died in the present month of Hathyr. Wherefore I request that he be inscribed in the list of such persons, as is proper; and I swear by the Emperor Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius that the foregoing statements are true.' (Date.)

1 Λαδικηνῶι (sc. Λα(ο)δ.): not found elsewhere as a proper name; as adj., see Pape, *Gr. Eigenamen*, p. 771; PSI 1255 (3rd cent., from Oxyrhynchus) has Λαδικεύς (l. 8); Λαοδικ[έως] (l. 19); Λαοδίκη (l. 21).

3 Ἀγαθοκλείας: a rare name in the documents; P. Tebt. 815¹⁰, 8; SB 6289, 3 (both 3rd cent. B.C.); 964 (3rd cent. A.D.).

7 δοῦλος μου ἄτεχνος: cf. 1030 7 seq. (A.D. 212).

8 seq. ἐπ' ἀμφόδου Ἐρμαί[ο]υ: cf. Rink, *Strassen- und Viertelnamen von Oxyrhynchus*, pp. 10 seq.; 1263 7.

11 seq. ἐν τῇ τῶν ὁμοίων τάξει: see Mertens, *op. cit.* in footnote, p. 74.

¹ See P. Mertens, *Les Services de l'État civile à Oxyrhynchus*, pp. 67-77.

2565. DECLARATIONS OF BIRTH IN LATIN

Plate I

16 × 12 cm.

A.D. 224

This item is composed of two documents stuck together side by side, the right edge of the larger overlapping the left edge of the smaller. The second seems to have been less tall than the first because its top edge finishes more than a centimetre below the top of the other. Both are broken at the foot and on the side opposite the join.

The first document records a *professio* made by a Roman citizen before the prefect of Egypt in Alexandria declaring the birth of his son. Its form is paralleled by 894 and a tablet published by Guéraud in *Ét. Pap.* vi (1940), pp. 21–35. These two contain below the Latin a declaration to the same effect in Greek—ἀπογράφ[ομαι υἱόν μου γεγενῆσθαι (combined text)—and the tablet also has the copy of a subscription which was evidently made on the original submitted to be filed in the prefect's archives. Guéraud suggested (l.c. pp. 32 seq.) that his text was the father's certificate of having made his declaration.

The adjoining document seems—though I have not deciphered it fully—to be one of the same type, recording a *professio* made in the same consulship for the birth of a daughter. Because nearly three years elapsed between the birth and the registration in the first document, it is possible that the daughter was of the same family, but the time of the year seems to have been different (*v. nn.*, ll. 14–15) and the writing certainly is, so that it is more likely that this piece is part of a roll of declarations made up in some government office than that it is, for example, a private collection of certificates for children of the same family or part of a lawyer's file. The copies filed in Alexandria have no business to be in Oxyrhynchus, so that these should be from a local government office. It is possible that they have some relationship with the ὑπομνήματα ἐπιγενήσεως submitted for tax purposes to the city officials (Mertens, *Services de l'état civil . . . à Oxyrhynchus* 48 seqq.).

The first document is incidentally of interest because it is the first to refer to the prefect M. Aurelius Epagathus and gives a firm date for him which differs by several years from the conjectural one given in the lists of prefects. This is important evidence for the date of the death of Ulpian. Epagathus was the chief instigator of the murder of Ulpian and was so powerful in Rome that he could not be punished there. He was removed to Egypt by his appointment as prefect and from there was taken to Crete to be executed (Dio lxxx 2, 2–4). It follows that Ulpian was murdered before the date of this declaration (May/June 224). This justifies Howe's preference for c. A.D. 223 as the date of the murder (*The Pretorian Prefect* 100–5), dismisses the traditional date of c. A.D. 228, wrongly based on Dio, and rebuts Reinmuth's arguments against Howe (*AJP* lxxv (1944), pp. 197 seqq.). It is now reasonable to suppose that Epagathus was the prefect whose work was taken over by the *inridicus* Tiberius Claudius Herennianus, see P. Harr. 68, Stein, *Die Praefekten* 128 seq. P. Harr. 68 is dated 12 January, A.D. 225, from which it seems likely that the petition recited inside the document was

2565. DECLARATIONS OF BIRTH IN LATIN

delivered to Herennianus in A.D. 224. Quite probably Herennianus' name is to be supplied in the second declaration here (Tiberi[l. 15), which is also dated A.D. 224 (l. 1).

(a)

Iuli]an[o] et Crispino co(n)s(ulibus)
 an]n[o I]II Imp(eratoris) Caesaris Marci Aureli
 Seve]ri Alexandri Pii Felicis Aug(usti)
 men]se Pauni die ..
 5 Alex]a[nd]r(iae) ad Aeg(yptum)
 apud] M. Aurelium Epagathum pr(a)ef(ectum) Aeg(ypti)
 M. Au]relius Mar[us] q(ui) e(t) Serenus
 . . . p]roffessus est sibi filium na-
 tum es]se M. Aurelium Sarapionem
 10]l. . . . m καὶ ὡς χ(ρηματίζει)
] sua pri(die) Id(us) Aug(ustas) q(uae) f(uerunt)
 Grato] e[t] Seleuco co(n)s(ulibus)

(b)

(2nd hd.) Iulian[
 .a. . . [
 15 Tiberi[
 fort . . . [
 filiam . . . [
 Theo[
 Iunia] q[(uae) f(uerunt)

'In the consulship of Iulianus and Crispinus, the third year of the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander, Pious, Happy, August, in the month of Payni, the . . . th day, at Alexandria near Egypt, before M. Aurelius Epagathus, prefect of Egypt, M. Aurelius Marsus, also called Serenus, . . . declared that there was born to him a son, M. Aurelius Sarapion, by . . . , his wife (?), on the day before the Ides of August which fell in the consulship of Gratus and Seleucus.'

1 A.D. 224, cf. 11–12 n.

4 The number of digits after *die* is uncertain. The second trace may be a stop.6 *prefaeg* pap.7 *Marsus* looks best; *Marius* does not seem to be right, comparing *-ri-* in Crispino (1) and Caesaris (2), but what I take as the cap of 's' might possibly be an extension of the 'r'.*q(ui) e(t)*: cf., e.g., 1114, 8 n. *q̄ ē* abbreviated by dots above the letters, cf. *q(uae) f(uerunt)*, l. 11. Some of the other abbreviations have a high or middle stop and some have nothing to draw attention to them.8 There is space for about four letters unaccounted for in the gap. Nothing essential to the sense is missing. Perhaps there was a description, such as *c.r.* = c(ivis) R(omanus). There is nothing in Guéraud's tablet. 894 is damaged at this point.10 The name of the mother is expected here; e.g. *ex Aure]lia[.]*, etc., would be possible. The Greek at the end of the line is unexpected and difficult, but there is a parallel for this expression in the middle of a Latin document, i.e. P. Michaelidae 61, 6 (= CPLat. 164). If the reading is right the *c* of *ōc* is absorbed in a 'Verschleifung' or there is an abbreviation.11 Presumably *uxore] sua*. *Ét. Pap.* vi has *uxore* in this position but not *sua*; 894 is damaged at this point. Schulz thought that the innovation of Marcus Aurelius referred to in *SHA Vita Marci* 9, 7

consisted in requiring a *professio* to be made for illegitimate as well as legitimate children (*JRS* xxxii (1942), pp. 81 seqq.).

11-12 12 Aug., A.D. 221. As in Guéraud's tablet the statutory maximum of thirty days between birth and registration, supposed to have been established by Marcus Aurelius (*SHA* 1.c.), is greatly exceeded. If it ever held for the provinces it must have been widely disregarded after the *Constitutio Antoniniana*. P. Tebt. 285 might perhaps be taken to suggest that it was not too rare then for the whole procedure of the *professio* to be neglected.

q̄ f̄ : cf. n. l. 7.

12 The papyrus is damaged after *cos.* but there do not seem to be any traces of the parents' domicile as given in 894. It may, of course, have followed on the next line; ll. 4 and 5 are also unusually short.

13 Iulian[: the letters are all damaged but there is no doubt that they are the expected ones, cf. l. 1. From this, and from *filiam* (17) and *Iunias* (19), which I take to correspond to *filium* (8) and *Aug(ustas)* (11), I suppose that (*b*) is a declaration just like (*a*), but the intermediate stages, which should be easy, are hard to recognize; see notes to ll. 14 and 16.

14 .a . . . : before *a* there is the foot of an upright; after *a, p* or *c*, followed, perhaps not immediately, by a tall letter and the foot of an upright. Not *apud* because of the preceding upright and cf. 15 n. The only variable part of the formula should be the name of the Egyptian month, in which case *mense Choiaç* q̄i[e . . . is the only possibility that occurs to me, but the division of the diphthong in *Choiaç* is unlikely. It seems that the introductory formula (as far as *apud*, cf. n. l. 15), which took more than five lines in (*a*) was completed within two lines in (*b*). Probably it was more drastically abbreviated but the correspondences already noted (l. 13 n.) seem to show that the lines of (*b*) were longer than those of (*a*) and the same is suggested by its lesser height (introd. para. 1).

15 Tiberi[: probably *apud*] *Tiberi[um Claudium Herennianum praefectum Aegypti*, see introd. The Latin for *διέπων* (καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν (P. Harr. 68) appears to be simply *praefectus Aegypti*, v. 1201, 1 and 14. There is a possibility that this is the father's name but that should be much closer to *filiam* (17).

16 fort . . . : *Fortis* is known as a name (P. Mich. vii 447 i 9), but though *i* would be possible a following *s* would not.

17 *filiam* . . . : the traces suggest s̄i[bi rather than n̄a[tam and 894, 5 has the order *filium sibi natum*.

2566. ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF DEBT TO AN ESCHEATED ESTATE

53 × 26 cm.

13 June, A.D. 225(?)

This papyrus contains in separate columns copies of two reports made to the strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome by Aurelia Apollonaron, daughter of Zoilus. She declares that she owes—together with an associate in the second case—certain amounts of wheat to the account of Claudia Isidora, also called Apia, whose goods have escheated to the treasury. Apia is rather well known from the papyri (v. n. to i 6).

The situation is new and the reason for the submission of the report is not stated. It may be that it was required by law (v. n. to i 6), but I cannot discover that it was, and it may be easier to suppose that Apollonaron made it on her own initiative because she thought it to her advantage. Perhaps she was taking steps to pay the debts before she became liable to the penalties for late payment—the date of the reports is Payni 19 and payment was due in Epeiph. The treasury officials would find a copy of the chirographs among Apia's papers (δικκόν i 8), but no doubt there might be delays before they claimed payment.

2566. ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF DEBT TO AN ESCHEATED ESTATE 105

It is not clear why Apia's property escheated to the treasury. *παρὰ τῷ ταμείῳ γενέσθαι*—'to come under the control of the treasury'—though I cannot find it elsewhere, seems to be a colourless phrase neither indicating the reason nor distinguishing the departments of the treasury. A letter of a high Roman official announcing the fate of Apia's property is mentioned, but Papirius Sabinus, *vir egregius*, is not known to me from elsewhere and his office is not stated.

The idiologus received confiscated property for several reasons, as is known from the Gnomon (e.g. paras. 4, 16, 19, 25, 26, 67).

If Apia was a debtor to the treasury, Sabinus may have been epistrategus of the Heptanomia (Martin, *Les Épistratèges* pp. 156/7), or the dioecetes (BGU 8 ii 28 seqq.), or the idiologus (see above), or his subordinate the *procurator usiacus*.

If her goods were confiscated for a criminal offence, he might have been the *iuridicus*.

All the officials mentioned bear the title *κράτιστος* (Hornickel, *Ehren- und Rangprädikate*, pp. 19-22) about this date. The last known application of it to the prefect is in a document dated A.D. 190 (ibid., p. 21, n. 7).

P. Oxford Wegener 5A mentions a Sabinus who may have been epistrategus of the Heptanomia in the early third century (ibid., ll. 2-3 n.), but that document may well be some years earlier than the present one. I do not know whether, if Papirius Sabinus was the epistrategus, we should conclude that Apia was a debtor to the treasury. If she died intestate and without lawful heirs—a less dramatic supposition—her property would have gone to the fiscus (v. Gnomon, para. 4), and we do not know enough to say that the epistrategus could not have entered the case.

It is clear from the subscriptions, written in the same hand as the rest, that the documents are copies. The handwriting and the format are good enough to have come from the strategus's office.

Col. i

Αὐρηλίω c. 9 letters στρ(ατηγῶ) Ὁξυρνηχίτου
 παρὰ Αὐρηλίας Ἀπολλων[αρίου Ζωίλου γυμνασι]αρ[χής]αντος τῆς Ὁξυρνη-
 χιτῶν πόλ(εως)
 μητρὸς[.....]χωρ[ί]ς κ[υ]ρίο[υ] χ[ρη]ματιζούσης
 κατὰ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἔθ[η] [τ]έκν[ων] δικαί[ω] διὰ Αὐρηλίου Ὁρίωνος γραμ-
 ματέως·
 5 ἐξ ἐπιστολῆς Παπειρίου Καβείνου τοῦ κρατίστου σήμερόν σοι ἐνταῦ-
 θα ἀναδοθείσης μαθ[οῦσα] τὰ ὑπάρχοντα Κλαυδίας Ἰσιδώρας τῆς κ[αί]
 Ἀπίας παρὰ τῷ ταμείῳ γεγονέναι ἀπογράφομαι δηλοῦσα ἐμαντή[ν]
 ὀφείλειν τῷ τῆς Ἰσιδώρας λόγῳ κατὰ χειρόγραφον [[δικῶν]] ἐπὶ τοῦ
 ἐνεστῶτος ἔ[το]υς [[Μεχ[είρ]]] Ῥαμ[ενῶθ]· πυροῦ ἀρτάβας χ' μέτρῳ γνώ-
 10 μονος τῆς οὐσίας ἄς ἔ[χ]·ν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀποδοῦναι τὰς ἴσας χ' ἀπὸ καρπῶν τοῦ
 ἁ(ὑτοῦ) ἐνεστῶτος
 ἔτους τῷ Ἐπει[φ] μηνί· κ[αί] ἄξιῳ ταύτην μου τὴν ἀπογραφὴν φα-
 νεράν γενέσθ[αι] οἷς προσήκει· (ἔτους) δ' Παῦνι ιθ'
 Αὐρηλ(ία) Ἀπολλων[άριον] Ζωίλ(ου) δι' ἐμοῦ Αὐρηλ(ίου) Ὁρίωνος γραμ-
 ματ[έως]·

Col. ii

Αὐρηλίω Αι.[...]λω ς[τρ](ατηγῶ) Ὁξυρ[νη]χείτου
 παρὰ Αὐρηλ[ί]ας Ἀ[πολλ]ωναρίου θυγα[τρ]ὸς Ζωί[λ]ου
 γυμνα[σιαρχή]σαντος τῆς Ὁξ[υ]ρ[νη]χιτῶν π[ό]λ(εως) [χ]ωρ[ί]ς κυρίου χρημ[ατ]ι-
 ζούσης κατὰ
 τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἔθ[η] [τ]έκν[ων] δικαί[ω] μετὰ συνε[τ]τ[ῶ]-
 5 τος Αὐρηλ(ίου) Διογέν[ου]ς Σαραπάμμων[ος] ἐξηγητεύσαντ[ος] βουλ(ευτοῦ)
 τῆς α(ὑτῆς) πόλ(εως) δι' Αὐρηλ(ίου) Ὁρίωνος γραμματέως τῆς Ἀπολλων[α]ρίου·
 ἐξ ἐπιστ[ο]λῆς Παπειρίου Καβείνου τοῦ κρατίστου
 σήμερόν σοι ἐνταῦθα ἀναδοθείσης μαθόντες τὰ ὑπάρ-
 χοντα Κλαυδίας Ἰσιδώρας τῆς καὶ Ἀπ[ί]ας παρὰ τῷ ταμείῳ
 10 γεγενῆσθαι ἀπογραφόμεθα δηλοῦντες ἑαυτοὺς ὀφείλειν
 τῷ τῆς Ἰσιδώρας λόγῳ κατὰ χειρόγραφον ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος
 ἔτους Ῥαμ[ενῶθ] ιβ' πυροῦ ἀρτάβας τ' μέτρῳ γνώμονος
 τῆς οὐσίας ἄς ἔσχον ἐπὶ τῷ ἀπο[δ]οῦναι ἀπὸ καρπῶν τοῦ α(ὑτοῦ)
 ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους τῷ Ἐπει[φ] μηνί τὰς τοῦ κεφαλ[α]ίου
 15 ἀρτάβας τριακοσίας καὶ ὑπὲρ διαφόρου ἐκ τετάρτου ἀρτάβας
 ἔ[β]δομήκοντ[α] πέντε· καὶ ἀξιοῦμ[ε]ν ταύτην ἡμῶν τὴν
 ἀπογραφὴν φ[αν]ερῶν [γ]ένεσθαι οἷς προσήκει· (ἔτους) δ' Παῦνι ιθ'
 Αὐρηλ(ία) Ἀπ[ο]λλων[άριον] Ζωίλ(ου) καὶ Αὐρηλ(ίος) Διογέ[ν]ης Σαραπάμ-
 μωνος
 δι' ἐμοῦ Αὐρηλ(ίου) Ὁρίωνος γραμματέως α[ὑ]τῆς Ἀπολλων[α]ρίου
 20 ἐπιδεδώκ[αμεν]·

3 γυμ^β 5 τος: c corrected from τ?

Col. i 'To Aurelius . . . , strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelia Apollonarian, daughter of Zoilus, ex-gymnasiarch of the city of Oxyrhynchus, and of her mother . . . acting without a guardian in accordance with Roman custom by right of children, through Aurelius Horion, secretary. Having learnt from a letter of the most excellent Papirius Sabinus, delivered to you here today, that the property of Claudia Isidora also called Apia has escheated to the treasury, I write this report to declare that I myself owe to Isidora's account, in accordance with a chirograph dated in the current year on . . . Phamenoth, 600 artabae of wheat by a measure in accordance with the regulations of the estate, which I had on condition of returning the same number, 600, from the produce of the same current year in the month of Epeiph. And I request that this report of mine be communicated to those concerned. Fourth year, Payni 19th. Aurelia Apollonarian, daughter of Zoilus, through me, Aurelius Horion, secretary.'

Col. ii 'To Aurelius A . . . , strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelia Apollonarian, daughter of Zoilus, ex-gymnasiarch of the city of Oxyrhynchus, acting without a guardian in accordance with Roman custom by right of children, with her associate Aurelius Diogenes, son of Sarapammon, ex-exegetes, senator of the same city, through Aurelius Horion, secretary of Apollonarian. Having learnt from a letter of the most excellent Papirius Sabinus, delivered to you here today, that

the property of Claudia Isidora also called Apia has escheated to the treasury, we write this report to declare that we ourselves owe to Isidora's account, in accordance with a chirograph dated in the current year on 12th Phamenoth, 300 artabae of wheat by a measure in accordance with the regulations of the estate, which I had on condition of returning from the produce of the same current year in the month of Epeiph the 300 artabae of the principal and 75 artabae by way of interest of a fourth. And we request that this report of ours be communicated to those concerned. Fourth year, Payni 19th. We, Aurelia Apolloniarion, daughter of Zoilus, and Aurelius Diogenes, son of Sarapammon, through me, Aurelius Horion, secretary of the same Apolloniarion, submitted the report.'

i 2 *Αρηλιας Απολλων*[: these broken letters can scarcely be read but are rather supplied from 14 and ii 2. In the next line an equal number of broken letters can be seen but in the absence of a parallel I cannot read them.

4 *Αρηλιος Ωριων*: cf. perhaps 61 4 (A.D. 221) and 2137 5 (226).

6 *αναδοθείς*: what actually happened is not clear. Assuming that the addressee was the strategus, Apolloniarion may have known the contents of the letter because it was publicly displayed, or because she caused it to be written by some action of her own and received a copy, or for some other reason. And since *αναδιδόναι* does not necessarily mean 'deliver' a letter to the addressee (cf., e.g., 1104 8 seqq.), it could have been a letter to Apolloniarion which she had herself 'sent up' to the strategus earlier. And no doubt there are other possibilities. The simplest hypothesis may be that the letter was written to the strategus to be publicly displayed so that debtors to the estate might make precisely the kind of report that these documents are. But see introd., para. 2.

Κλαυδία Ίσιδώρα: see 919, 1046, 1530, 1578 (corr. *Ox. Pap.* xiv, p. 14), 1630, 1634, 1659, P. Oslo 111 ll. 126, 129, Rostowzew, *Soc. and Econ. Hist. of the Roman Empire*², pp. 490, 674 n. 48, 747 n. 61, MacLennan, *Oxyrhynchus*, pp. 40-42.

7 *παρά τῷ ταμίῳ γεγονέναι*: the nearest parallel I can find is BGU 15 ii 16 *τῷ τ. μὴ παραγίνεσθαι*, where it is a question of collected taxes not finding their way to the treasury.

9 [.]: space for one or two letters, possibly *ιβ'* as in ii 12.

γνώμονος: the estate 'code' suggests that Apia's land was leased from the emperor, cf. Rostowzew, op. cit. p. 747, n. 61. *μέτρῳ τῆς οὐσίας* is known, v. A. Calderini, *Studi della Scuola Papirologica* iv, part 3, p. 111 cf. 112 seqq., and add P. Vind. Sijpestein 9, 15 seqq., cf. ibid. 13, 10 seqq. and the same thing seems to have been intended in P. Ross.-Georg. iii 5, 6 *πυροῦ μέτρῳ γνώμονι ἀρτάβας ἑκατόν*, etc.

10 *ε[]χ. ν*: the missing letter should be *ο*, but the surviving trace is a long descender, presumably accidental.

12 *ἐνεστ* (): the last letter is damaged and there is a gap, but it is too small to contain *-ῶτος*. It looks as if *τ* was written very large to indicate the abbreviation.

14 Apolloniarion's subscription should be followed by *ἐπιδέδωκα* (cf. ii 20) but it has been accidentally omitted.

ii 1 This strategus does not seem to have occurred before, but the remains of his name are important for the date. It must be after A.D. 212 because of the Aurelii, and near the other mentions of Apia (v. i 6 n.), who is known, so far, from A.D. 215 (919) to A.D. 222 (1634). It cannot be 221 (4 Elagabalus) because another strategus is attested for the period (v. *Chron. d'Égypte* lxii (1956), pp. 354 seqq.). The strategus of 4 Alexander (A.D. 225) is not known and this, as the closest to 222, appears to be the most likely year. The next possible year is 238 (4 Maximinus and Maximus). A strategus for September 238 is known (1433 1) and he is not the one named here, but because this is already in the first year of Gordian and there is a possibility that he was appointed at the beginning of Thoth, 238 cannot be definitely excluded. A.D. 242 is also open, but this is already twenty years later than the last known reference to Apia. The mention in A.D. 235 of houses (*πρότερον*) *Κλαυδίας Ίσιδώρας τῆς καὶ Ἀπίας* (P. Oslo 111, ll. 126, 129) suggests that her property belonged to the state by then and so favours A.D. 226 for this document.

6 *γραμματέως τῆς Ἀπολλωνιαρίου*: private secretaries are not common, but cf. the secretary of Alypius P. Flor. 216, 4.

10 *ἐαυτοῦς = ἡμᾶς αὐτοῦς* v. Mayser² i 2, p. 63.

13 *ἔχων*: 1st sing., subject Apolloniarion, rather than 3rd plural in the objective style, I take it. Diogenes is a guarantor in case of Apolloniarion's failure (Wenger, *Stellvertretung* pp. 103 seq., 179 seq.) but the transaction is in the hands of Apolloniarion only. Or perhaps just a mistake, cf. P. Cair. Isid. 11 9, *δηλῶ . . . ἐντάξαντες*.

2567. REGISTRATION OF DRUGGIST'S STOCK

7·9 × 34·2 cm.

18 May, A.D. 253

The alum monopoly was already attested, for the Fayûm by W. Chr. 321 (A.D. 145) and for Oxyrhynchus by 2116 (A.D. 229) and 1429 (A.D. 300). 2567—an unusual document which has some similarities with 520—now adds considerably to our information.

The monopoly, in the third century, embraced both alum and other useful minerals (2567 16 seqq.). Control rested with the government in Alexandria, which leased the industry to three *misthotai* (2567, cf. 1429) and appointed three *epiteretai* (2116) to supervise their administration. The *misthotai*, through their nome-managers (2567 34 seqq.), sold alum to the local retailers (who in turn must have supplied the alum-peddlars: Wallace, *Taxation* 211). The *epiteretai* made up the accounts for the whole industry every five days, and submitted them in sextuplicate to the Alexandrian ministries. The *dioikesis*, the *oikonomoi*, and the *procurator ad Mercurium* all received copies; and the same *procurator* had the power to order a general stocktaking by the retailers when a new set of *misthotai* took over (2567 7 seqq.).

Before the third century we have only one piece of evidence: W. Chr. 321. Here the situation may well have been different: the mention of *ἐπιτη(ρηται) εὑβ(τηρία) Ἀρσι()* suggests, though it does not prove, that the monopoly was then administered separately in each nome.

Ἀὐρηλίους Ἄρουντίω Ἡρακλειανῶ
 καὶ Ἰέρακι τῶ καὶ Δημητρίω καὶ Θέω-
 νι μισθωταῖς μονοπωλίου ἀσχολή-
 ματος στυπτηρίας
 5 παρὰ Ἀὐρηλίου Νεοπτολέμου Διοσκό-
 ρου ἀπ' Ὁξυρύγχων πόλεως φαρμα-
 κοπώλου. κατὰ τὰ κελευθέντα
 ὑπὸ Αἰλίου Καβεῖνου τοῦ κρατίστου
 ἐπιτρόπου Ἐρμοῦ ἀπογράφομαι
 10 ἐνπροθέσμω αὐτῶν παρέλαβα παρὰ
 τῶν προγενομένων μισθωτῶν
 τοῦ ἀσχολήματος τὰ ὑπογεγραμ-
 μένα εἶδη· στυπτηρίας μὲν
 Ψωβτιακῆς ὀγκῆς (ταλ.) βL⁻
 15 χικτῆς δὲ ὀγκῆς μνάς λ⁻
 μελαντηρίας τάλαντα ιβ⁻
 μίλτου τάλαντα ζ⁻
 μισυδίων ἄρτους υν⁻
 .]. . πορφύρου τάλαντα ε⁻
 20 ὄχρας ὀκσειτικῆς (ταλ.) γ⁻
 ἀλ]υκῆς τάλαντα ε⁻
 . .]ληρας τάλαντα ε⁻
 . .]λίματος μέτρα β⁻
 ὧν] πάντων τῆν τιμὴν
 25 πλή]ρη μετεβαλόμην κατὰ τὸ
 εἶ]θος ἀκολουθῶς οἷς ἔχω
 συμβόλοις (ἔτους) γ''
 αὐ]τοκρατόρων καισάρων Γαίου
 Οὐ]βίου Τρεβωνιανοῦ Γάλλου
 30 καὶ] Γαίου Οὐ]βίου Ἀφινίου Γάλλου
 Οὐ]ε]λδουμανοῦ Οὐ]ολουσιαν[ο]ῦ
 εὐς]εβῶν εὐτυχῶν σεβαστῶν
 Πα]χῶν κγ̄.
 (2nd hd.) Ἀὐρή]λιος Ἀμμώνιος πραγμα-
 35 τευ]τῆς Ὁξυρυγχείτου ἔσχον
 τοῦ]του τὸ ἴσον.

8 ὕπο 12 ὑπογεγραμ- 14 ψωβ'τιακῆς 17 μιλ'του 19 .]λη unsatisfactory: second.
 trace not completely suited to either ι or ρ 28, 30 γαῖου 35 οξυρυγ'χείτου

'To Aurelius Arruntius Heraclianus, and Aurelius Hierax also called Demetrius, and Aurelius Theon, lessees of the monopoly of the alum industry: from Aurelius Neoptolemus son of Dioscorus, of the city of Oxyrhynchus, druggist. In accordance with the orders of Aelius Sabinus the most excellent *procurator ad Mercurium*, I make a punctual return of the items which I received from the previous lessees of the industry, as listed below:

'Alum from Psobthis, 2½ tal. weight; and split alum, 30 minae weight. *Melanteria*, 12 tal. *Miltos*, 7 tal. *Misy*, 450 loaves. . . ., 5 tal. Ochre from the oasis, 3 tal. Salt, 5 tal. . . ., 2 measures. I have remitted the price of all these, in full, as customary in accordance with the receipts which I hold. Year 3 of Imperatores Caesares Gaius Vibius Trebonianus Gallus and Gaius Vibius Afnius Gallus Veldumianus Volusianus Pii Felices Augusti, Pachon 23.

'(2nd hd.) I, Aurelius Ammonius, manager for the Oxyrhynchite nome, have received a duplicate of this.'

8 Αἰλίου Καβεῖνου: an Aelius Sabinus recorded events of A.D. 238 (*SHA Maximini* 32, 1)—Momm-
 sen (*Ges. Schr.* vii 333, n. 2) thought him a figment.

9 ἐπιτρόπου Ἐρμοῦ: Ἐρμοῦ now becomes a certain correction of ρρμοῦ at 2116 10. The *procurator ad Mercurium* and his department (frumentum Mercuri, Ἐρμοῦ χειρικμῶς) are well attested.¹ (1) 81/82: P. Gen. Lat. recto ii 5. (2) Domitian: *Ann. Ép.* 1939, no. 60 (Sex. Attius Suburanus). (3) 136: PSI 792. (4) 165: P. Berl. Leihg. 4 verso v 24. (5) After 161: *ILS* 1398 (M. Campanius Modestus). (6) 201: Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitana (Reynolds and Ward Perkins) 392, 403, 422, 434 (M. Junius Punicus). (7) 229: P. Oxy. 2116. (8) 244: P. Oslo ii 27 with *Archiv* x 84 seq. (. . . Julianus). (9) 253: P. Oxy. 2567 (Aelius Sabinus). The functions of the department remain obscure. Certainly it dealt mostly with grain; certainly it was co-ordinate with the *χειρικμῶς Νέας πόλεως*. Wilcken accordingly conjectured that the *procurator ad Mercurium* handled the Alexandrian corn supply, while the *procurator Neas-poleos* handled the annona (*Hermes* lxiii (1928), pp. 60 seq.). The fact that, on one occasion, the same grain was booked to both departments (P. Berl. Leihg. pp. 103 seq.; 361) scarcely weighs against this conjecture. But the new evidence of 2116 and 2567 does alter the picture, at least for the 3rd cent. Why should the *procurator ad Mercurium* interest himself in alum as well as grain? We might guess that he exercised a general supervision over the distribution and sale of monopolized commodities—including traffic in surplus grain (2472, 3, n.). For this view cf. Schwartz, *BSAA* xxxix (1951), p. 30 seqq.

13 seqq. Five items on this list survive unmutilated. All are minerals; and all have their use in medicine, to judge from Dioskorides and from the pharmaceutical papyri (for which see Gazza, *Aeg.* xxxvi (1956), pp. 73 seqq.). Four of them are also pigments, and the fifth (alum) a mordant. But we need not infer that the mutilated items too must have been colouring agents or the like—indeed, ἀλυκή, which belongs only to the medical sphere, seems a probable restoration in l. 21. In what follows I am much indebted to Dr. J. R. Harris for advice and bibliography on matters of geology.

14 Ψωβτιακῆς: 'from Psobthis', i.e. from the capital of the Little Oasis (P. Oxy. 485: other and less eligible Psobtheis are listed by Calderini, *Rend. R. Ist. Lomb.* lviii (1925), p. 529). *W. Chr.* 321 proves that alum was brought on camel-back from the Little Oasis to the Fayûm, and in fact all the oases have deposits of alum and ochre (cf. l. 20): see Hume, *Geological Survey* i 209 seq. The various uses of alum are discussed by Weidemann, *Herodots Zweites Buch*, p. 610.

15 χικτῆς: *concreti aluminis unum genus schiston appellant Graeci, in capillamenta quaedam canescentia dehiscens* (Pliny *N.H.* 35, 186): it is often mentioned in recipes (Gazza 104) and in chemical texts (P. Holm., index). According to Pfister (*Sem. Kond.* vii (1935), p. 5) 'c'est probablement l'alun qui se trouve tout formé, mais en petite quantité, dans les fissures de certains schistes . . .' See in general J. R. Harris, *Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals* 185 seq.

18 μισυδίων: the diminutive (absent from the *Wörterbuch* and LSJ) occurs at Galen 19, 736. *Misy*—some produced in Egypt, though the best came from Cyprus (Diosk. 5, 100)—was important as

¹ Ti. Claudius Balbillus served [ad Herm]en Alexandreion under Claudius (*Ann. Ép.* 1924, no. 78): but the restoration may be doubted.

a remedy for sore eyes: Youtie therefore interprets ἄρτους as 'pellets' (usually κολλύρια) rather than 'bricks'.

23 . . . ἄλιματος: ἄλιμα (water plantain) is a medicine (Diosk. 3, 152), though not a mineral. Would it be sold by volume, not by weight?

27 (ἔτους) γ: 252/3 on the normal chronology. For the controversy, arising from numismatic evidence, see *Aeg.* xxxii (1952), p. 152.

36-37 πραγμα[τευ]τής: the nome manager: cf. 825 (an account drawn up for the μισθωταὶ ξενικῆς πρακτορείας by their πραγματευτῆς Μέμφεως Μ[ε]μφ[ε]ίτου); P. Grenf. ii 58, 1 (πραγ[ματευτῆς ἐρημοφυλακίας Προσωπίτου).

2568. ACKNOWLEDGEMENT FOR RETURN OF BOAT

6.2 × 23.6 cm.

23 July, A.D. 264

Aurelius Heracles acknowledges the return of a boat which he had provided, under general orders of the prefect, for use in the loading of corn-transport. The receipt is addressed to an irenarch and to an unspecified official. This shows a new aspect of the irenarchs' powers: no doubt requisitioning was part of their police-work.

To judge from the repayment-clauses of loans in kind, the year's harvest was usually threshed and divided by the end of Payni. Accordingly, large shipments of government grain would be under way in Epeiph (cf. Börner, *Staatliche Korntransport* 30 seq.). 2568, dated on Epeiph 29, fits well enough into this scheme.

1197 makes an interesting parallel. Here a dieramatites promises on oath to produce his boat when the transports arrive. His pledge is dated in Mesore of 211. In that year, therefore, the transports had still not arrived by the end of Epeiph. The harvest may have been late, or the Nile slow in rising.

Καλπουρνίω Ὠρί-
ωνι τῷ ἀξιολογω-
τάτῳ εἰρηνάρχῃ
καὶ Αὐρηλίῳ Ἀχιλλεῖ
5 τῷ καὶ Ἀμμωνίῳ
τῷ κρατίστῳ

Αὐρήλιος Ἡρακλῆς
Θέωνος μητρὸς
Τρυφάτος ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγ-
10 χων πόλεως πακτω-
νοποιός· ὁμολογῶ
παρεληφέναι παρ'
ὑμῶν ὃν παρέσχον
πάκτωνα σὺν κώ-
15 παις δυεὶ ἰτείναις
πρὸς διαίρεσιν δη-
μοσίου πυροῦ ἀκο-
λούθως τοῖς γρα-
φείς(ι) ὑπὸ τοῦ λαμ-
20 προτάτου ἡμῶν
ἡγεμόνος Κλαυδίου
Φίρμου καὶ ἐπερωτη-
θεὶς ὁμολόγησα.
(2nd hd.) (ἔτους) ια'' αὐτοκράτορος
25 καίσαρος Πουπλίου Λικυνίου
Γαλλινοῦ Γερμανικοῦ
μεγίστου εὐσεβοῦ[ς]
εὐτυχοῦς [ς]εβαστοῦ
[ε]πίφει κθ. (3rd hd.) Αὐρήλιος
30 Ἡρακλῆς Θεώνος
παρείληφα τὸν πά-
κτωνα σὺν ταῖς κώ-
παις καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς
ὁμολόγησα· Αὐρήλιος
35 Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀπολλωνίου
ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μὴ εἰδό-
τος γράμματα.

4 *Αχιλλει*: the second λ written over an upright (as of H, etc.) 13 *ἕμων π'ἀρεσχῶ* 15 *ἔτει-*
νας 19 *ἕπο* 23 *ωμολογησα*: ω over an erasure. Perhaps *ωμολογησε*

'To Calpurnius Horion, the most worthy irenarch, and to Aurelius Achilles also called Ammonius, the most eminent: Aurelius Heraclides son of Theon, mother Tryphas, from the city of Oxyrhynchus, boat-maker. I acknowledge that I have received from you the boat with its two willow-wood oars, which I provided for the lading of the state corn in accordance with the letters of our most illustrious prefect Claudius Firmus; and in answer to the question I have made acknowledgement. (2nd hd.) Year 11 of Emperor Caesar Publius Licinius Gallienus Germanicus Maximus Pius Felix Augustus, Epiph 29.

(3rd hd.) 'I, Aurelius Heraclides son of Theon, have received the boat with the oars; and in answer to the question I have made acknowledgement. I, Aurelius Apollonius son of Apollonius, have written for him since he is illiterate.'

1-3 *Καλπουρνίω . . . εἰρηνάρχῃ*: chronological considerations suggest that this was a nome-irenarch. For the Oxyrhynchites we have:

(a) *εἰρηνάρχαι Ὁξύρυγχιτου* 2107 (A.D. 262); *εἰρηνάρχης Ὁξύρυγχιτῶν πόλεως* 2343 (c. 288); *εἰρηνάρχαι Ὁξ()* 80 (238/44). To judge from the contexts, the irenarchs in 118 (late iii) and 1662 (246) also belong to this group. 2233 (350) is doubtful: it seems to me more likely (despite the editor) that the *kephalotes* and his irenarchs are officials of the village (or possibly of the *pagus*)—they are subordinate to the *riparii* like the village-irenarchs of P. Amh. 146 and PSI 47 (5th and 6th cent. respectively).

(b) Irenamearchs of the toparchy: not attested.

(c) Village-irenarchs appear in 1505-6 (iv), PSI 47 (vi), P. Iand. 25 (vi/vii).

Nome-irenarchs, that is, are not attested after the 3rd cent.; nor village-irenarchs before the 4th. Material from other nomes for the most part confirms these limits.¹ Horion was probably nome-irenarch or (if it was a separate office) irenarch of Oxyrhynchus.

1-3 An *ἀξιολογώτατος Καλπούρμιος* is known from 1764 10 (3rd cent.).

4-6 What office did Achilles hold? His title gives no help, for the *κρατιστεία* was widely distributed at this time (Hornickel, *Ehren- und Rangprädikate* 21 seq.). It may be worth recalling 1257 13 and 19 *ὁ κράτιστος ἐπέκτειε δῆμοῦ ἐπίτου*—another Ammonius, identified by the editors with the *κράτιστος Ἄμμ.* of 1412 9 seq. (c. A.D. 284).

14 *πάκτων*: διὰ *σκυταλίδων πεπηγὸς σκάφιον ὡστ' εἰκέναι διαπλοκίω* (Strabo 17, 1, 50). It was used for the transport both of goods (1220 12, PSI 948, BGU 812, P. Ross.-Georg. ii 18, 176) and of persons (P. Ryl. 225, 39, P. Cairo Masp. 58). It seems to have been a fragile construction—passengers like Strabo felt doubts of their safety (cf. 2153 22-25)—and was presumably best suited to short trips. For the willow-wood, compare P. Merton i 19, 4 seqq.

16 *διαίρεων*: cf. P. Hib. ii 216, 9; P. Tebt. 328, 3 seq.; 1197 11. The office was that of ferrying the grain from the harbour granaries to the corn barges: see Börner, *Staatliche Korntransport* 27 seq.; Schwartz, *BIFAO* xlvii (1948), p. 191. The word, its spelling, and its cognates, are discussed by Frisk, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch* s.v. *διεράω*, and Rédard, *Les Noms grecs en -της* 44 and 242.

21-22 *Κλαυδίου Φίρμου*: 23 July 264 is now the earliest known date of this prefecture; P. Berl. Inv. 1463 belongs to the twelfth year of Gallienus (1194 introd.; Stein, *Die Präfecten* 146). The historical problems which involve this Firmus and some namesakes are discussed by C. H. Roberts, *P. Merton* i, pp. 157 seqq.

¹ Nome-irenarchs appear in 261 (BGU vii 1568: Arsinoites and Nicopolites), 262 (P. Strassb. 5 with *BL* i 404: Hermopolites), and 291 (SB 8199: Medamûd). An irenarch of a toparchy is known for 259 (2108: Hermopolites); an irenarch of a *pagus* for 334 (P. Thead. 24-25: Arsinoites). The evidence for village-irenarchs before the 4th cent. is weak; (a) P. Achmim 7 ii 19 Wessely's reading has been rejected; (b) P. Fay. 23 ii 20 *ερα()*!; (c) SB 4422 is dated palaeographically to 'about the end of the Roman period'; (d) P. Flor. 76, 52 (not long after A.D. 266) may be evidence, but makes no sense as it stands.

2569. RESIGNATION FROM A LITURGY

11.5 × 25 cm.

24 September, A.D. 265

This papyrus gives some new information about the supply of water to the baths in the Thermae at Oxyrhynchus. The contractor for the supply writes to the *prytanis*, pointing out that he has already served a month more than was specified in his contract, which he undertook on the urging of the senate. He says that the Nile flood is slow and that there is consequently a shortage of fodder for the beasts, perhaps the oxen that worked the pumps (cf. P. Lond. 1177 112 seqq.), and advises the *prytanis* to notify the two (former?) *exegetae* in charge of the water drawing for the next month so that they may undertake the supply.

The *exegetae* appear to have been the superiors of the contractor. They are perhaps to be compared with the *φροντισταὶ εἰσαγωγῆς ὑδάτων κατέλλων καὶ κρηνῶν μητροπόλεως* of Arsinoe (P. Lond. 1177 7 seqq.), who seem to have managed the whole of the city's water-supply, but since *τῆς τῶν ἀντλησμάτων . . . ὑπηρεσίας* (28-30) evidently means to convey the sense of *ἀνιμήσεως ὑδάτων πολιτικῶν θερμῶν βαλανείων* (5-7) in the contractor's title, and the *exegetae* are described as *προϊστάνομενοι τῶν ἀντλησμάτων*, it seems better to conclude that their function was the supervision of the contractor's work and not to speculate how much more they may have done.

The text shows again the reluctance of the citizens to undertake liturgies at this time. Didymus served only after being 'pressed' by the senate (14), no successor could be found for Thoth, when he continued to serve, and apparently none had been found for Phaophi by 27 Thoth.

Αὐρηλίῳ Μουνατίῳ ἀγορ(ανομήσαντι) καὶ ἐξηγ(ητεύσαντι), [γ]υ-
 μν(ασιάρχῃ), βουλ(ευτῆ), ἐνάρχῳ πρυτάνει τῆς
 Ὁξυ(ρυγχιτῶν) πόλ(εως)
 5 παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Διδύμου Διδύμου βου-
 λευτοῦ γενομένου μισθωτοῦ ἀνει-
 μήσεως ὑδάτων πολιτικῶν θερ-
 μῶν βαλανείων μηνῶν ἐννέα
 τοῦ διελθόντος ἱβ' (ἔτους)· μόλις μὲν καὶ
 10 παρὰ δύναμιν διὰ τὸ ἰδίωμα μά-
 λιστα καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ παρελθόντος ἔ-
 τος διανύσαι τὰ τῆς ὑπηρεσίας πε-
 ρὶ πλείστου ἐποικισμένην ὥστε καὶ
 κατὰ τοὺς δηλουμένους μῆνας μὴ
 15 ἀποδεῆσαι προτραπέντα μηδὲ
 δεῖν πρὸς τὴν τοῦδε τοῦ μηνὸς χο-
 ρηγίαν ἔξωθεν τῆς μισθώσεως
 ὄντος· συνορᾶν δ[ε] καὶ ἐνομί-
 ζω τὴν παροῦσαν ἐς τότε τῆς ἀγα-
 20 βάσεως βραδυτῆτα δι' ἣν τὸ πα-
 ρὸν αἱ τῶν κτηνῶν τροφαὶ ἐπι-
 νύξιν δοκοῦσιν ὡς χρῆναι ἐν τοῖς
 προἰστανόμενοις ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξηγη-
 τῶν τῶν ἀντιληπτῶν τοῦ ἐπιόν-
 25 τος μην[ὸ]ς Φα[ω]φί καὶ αὐτοῦ ὁμοί-
 ως τῆ μισθώσεως μὴ ἐμφορομέ-
 νου Σεπτιμίου [. . .] καὶ Ἀγαθῶ Δαί-
 μονι Ποτάμω[ο] φανερόν ποιῆ-
 30 και, ὅπως τῆς τῶν ἀντιληπτῶν
 τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐξῆ[ς] μηνὸς ἀντιληπτῶν
 ται ὑπηρεσία[ς, εἰ] μὲν διὰ τὴν προειρη-
 μένην αἰτίαν ἀπηγορευκέναι ὁ-
 μολογ[ο]ῦν[το]ς· (ἔτους) γ' Αὐτοκράτορος
 35 Καίσαρος Πουπλίου Δικωνίου
 Γαλλινοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Μεγίστου
 Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ·
 Θῶθ (m. 2) κζ'. Αὐρήλιος Δίδυμος βουλευ-
 τῆς ἐπιδέδωκα·

'To Aurelius Munatius, ex-agoranomus and exegetes, (ex-?) gymnasiarch, senator, prytanis in office of the city of the Oxyrhynchites, from Aurelius Didymus, son of Didymus, senator, formerly contractor for the drawing of municipal water for the baths of the Thermae for nine months of the past twelfth year.

'I thought it important to fulfil the duties of the service, with difficulty and to an extent beyond my means, especially on account of the peculiar circumstances of the same past year, so that as well

as not failing, after I had been pressed (to serve), during the months aforesaid, I did not, in fact, even do so in the supply for this month, though it is outside the contract. I believe that you too realize the present sluggishness of the Nile flood up to this point, on which account at present fodder for beasts seems to be running short, so that it behoves (-ed?) you to notify those of the exegetae who are in charge of the water-drawing for the coming month of Phaophi, since it also is not included in the contract, (namely) Septimius . . . and Agathus Daemon, son of Potamon, so that they may take over the service of the water-drawing for the same ensuing month, since I declare that I have resigned for the aforesaid cause.

'Thirteenth year of the Emperor Caesar Publius Licinius Gallienus Germanicus Maximus Pius Felix Augustus. Thoth (2nd hd.) 27th. I, Aurelius Didymus, submitted (the document).'

1 αγορῆς ἐξηγῆς [γ]υμνῶν βουλ': papyrus. The presence of καὶ in this position and its absence after ἐξηγῆς suggests that he was agoranomus and exegetes at the same time. The prytanis may have been a gymnasiarch, cf., e.g., *CPHerm.* 59, 3 seqq., or an ex-gymnasiarch, cf., e.g., 55 2.

2 πρυτάνει: the prytanis had a special responsibility for the baths, v. 1104 15 seqq., 1252 verso ii 22, 1499 1, 1500.

3 οξυπό: papyrus.
 5 μισθωτοῦ: cf. μισθωταὶ ὑδροπαροχίας καὶ ἀχυροπαροχίας [τοῦ ἐν τῷ πρα]ιτωρίῳ βαλανείου *Archiv* iv 115 seqq., col. i 12 seqq. (Antinoopolis A.D. 258), and ὑδροπαροχοὶ 2128 2. *CPHerm.* 95 and 96 seem to concern a contract for supplying water, cf. Wilcken, *Archiv* iii 546.

1. ἀνιμήσεως: the word is rare and new in the papyri.
 6 πολιτικῶν may possibly qualify βαλανεία cf. 53 6 θερμῶν δημοσίου βαλανείου, 896 8 θερμῶν δημοσίου τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως βαλανείου. For public baths in Egypt see A. Calderini in *Rend. Ist. Lomb.* ser. 2, lii (1919), pp. 297 seqq. and lvii (1924), pp. 737 seqq.

θερμῶν: there seem to have been two Thermae at Oxyrhynchus at some time between A.D. 138 and 160 (473 5 μειζόνων θερμῶν); Ἀδριανὰ θ. are mentioned in 54 14 (A.D. 201), *Τραιανὰ Ἀδριανὰ θ.* in 896 7 (A.D. 316). P. Giss. 50, 7 seqq. ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ [ἐν τῷ] Ἀντωνιανῶς [κα] Τραιανῶς θέρμας (A.D. 259) seems to show that the Ἀντωνιανὰ θ. (2128 12 2nd/3rd cent.) were the same. Perhaps there was only one set of Thermae later, cf. 43 verso iii 10 (post A.D. 295).

9 ἰδίωμα: cf. P. Lond. 1227, 10 (iii, p. 143).
 14 προτραπέντα: the word is used of senators exhorting prospective liturgists to serve, cf. 1413 5, 9, 17, 1415 23, 1416 5, 6.

20 δι' ἣν . . . σπανίξιν δοκοῦσιν: the connexion between a slow, and probably low, Nile and the shortage of fodder at this moment is not very easy to see. In a normal year the water would be at its highest point or subsiding but there could have been no new crops expected till after the sowing and growing periods still to come. A supply of dried fodder should have been planned to last much later than Thoth 27 and it would not be the fault of this year's Nile if it did not. Perhaps he is referring to a shortage to be expected later, i.e. σπανίξιν would have to be translated 'to be running short' rather than 'to be in short supply'. In a lately published Byzantine document (T. Reekmans, *A Sixth-century Account of Hay*, 1962) the grazing begins again after the end of Hathyr, but cut grass is in short supply as early as Payni (p. 25). A list of papyri dealing with difficulties in the provision of hay is given there on p. 26.

21 χρῆναι: according to Preis. *WB* ἐχρῆναι is the only form of the imperfect found in the papyri (P. Leipzig 39 5 (4th cent.), 900 7 (4th), 1163 5 (5th)), χρῆναι the only form of the infinitive (P. Mon. 6 27 (6th)).

22 ἀπὸ τ. ἐξηγητῶν: this probably means 'of the rank of exegetes' rather than 'former exegetae', for which the usual expression would be ἐξηγητευσάντων (E. G. T.). The language of 891 10 seqq. (ἐξηγητοῦ ζητουμένου εἰς τὰς α. [. . .] ας Ἐπειφ ἕως ἕ', ἔδοξε ὥστε ἐμὲ μὲν προστῆναι, τὰ δὲ ἀναλώματα ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ τάγματος δοθῆναι) compared with προἰστανόμενοις ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξηγητῶν suggests that

I inspected the original of 891, now Bodl. MS. Gr. class. f. 89 (P), and found that in l. 11 θέρ[μ]ας might be read. There is a long descender just before the gap. Between that and the first letter of the line there must have been another letter, which might have been an ε of the type formed of two curved strokes, one for the bottom half of the letter and the second for the top and crossbar, of which there is an example in ὤστε l. 12. The first letter, read confidently and plausibly

Septimius and Agathus Daemon, s. of Potamon, (26), were members of the board of exegetae at this date. Agathus Daemon appears also in P. Mert. 26 of 8 Feb. 274 as an exegetes, perhaps after having been reappointed, though liturgies are known to have been held for fairly long periods at this time (1418 15 n.).

2570. DECLARATIONS OF PRICES BY GUILDS

25 × 27 cm.

A.D. 329

Part of a series of declarations like 85 (A.D. 338) and PSI 202 and P. Rendel Harris 73 (both of about the same date), addressed to the logistes of the nome by the several guilds (κοινά) of workmen about the goods which they have in stock. These statements were taken by Grenfell and Hunt in their original edition of 85 to be of 'the value . . . of the goods in stock at the end of the month', and this conclusion was followed by subsequent editors of similar texts; but a manuscript note in Hunt's copy of *P. Oxy.*, part i, in the Hunt Library in Oxford suggests that the reference was to the current price of the goods in stock, the resolution of (e.g.) 85 iv 17 being: κριθῆς (ἀρτάβης) α τάλ(αντα) εν (δηνάρια) φ. This seems borne out by our text. 2562, the beginning of which is itself lost, was evidently written on the back of a piece torn from a roll of which this text was only a small part. Col. i contains only some ends of lines from a declaration by a guild which is unidentifiable:

¹³ μηδὲν διεψ[ε]ῦσθαι / ¹⁴]. / ¹⁵].) α χ φ / ¹⁶] . . . καὶ ¹⁷]. ἐπιλε

ii is the declaration of the 'potters of earthenware pottery', and iii that of the perfumers. This last is of some interest, containing as it does several unknown names of drugs, and some otherwise unexampled forms (mostly diminutives) of known names. On the guilds, see San Nicolo, *Ag. Vereinswesen*, pp. 66 seqq.; Johnson and West, *Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies*, pp. 151 seqq.

by GH as α, is damaged at the bottom and the top is a loop formed by a stroke first rising vertically and then bending to the left and down again in an arc to cross the vertical. It is true that the other thetas in the text (ll. 15, 18) are more formal, being made up of three separate strokes, but a θ finishing in the way described is not unusual. If this were the correct reading in 891 11, there would be a greater presumption that the exegetae in the present text have no powers outside the supervision of the contractor, see introd. para. 2.

- ii ὑπατέρας τῶν
 δεσποτῶν ἡ[μῶν]
 Κωνσταντίνου
 Ἀγούστου τὸ η' καὶ
 5 Κωνσταντίνου τῶν
 ἐπιφανεστάτου Καί[α]ρος
 τὸ δ' Φαῶφι λ'
 Φλαουίῳ Ἰουλιανῶ
 λογιτῆ Ὀξυρ[υγ]χίτου
 10 παρὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν
 κεραμέων κεραμικοῦ
 [κ]εράμιον τ[ῆς] λα[μ]πράς καὶ λα[μ]προτάτης Ὀξ[υρ]υγχιτῶν
 [π]όλεως δι' ἐμοῦ Α[ύρ]ου(ηλίου)
 Δημητρίου [ἐ]πιλε
 15 προσφωνῶ ἰδ[ίῳ] τι-
 μήματι τὴν ἐξῆ[ς] ἐν-
 γεγραμμένην [τιμὴν]
 ἐπὶ τοῦδε τοῦ [μηνός]
 ὧν χιρίζωμ[εν] ὠνίων],
 20 καὶ ὀμνύω τὸν θεοῖ[ον]
 ὄρκον μηδὲν διε-
 ψεῦσθαι. ἔστι δε-
 πύσσης ξηρᾶς . . . [
 τικῆς κεν(τηναρίου) α . . . [
 25 τρ[.]. αδ[.]. ας κε[ν(τηναρίου)] . .
 Αὐρ(ήλιος) Δημήτριος ἐπιλε[
 .. προσφ(ωνῶ) ὡς πρόκ(εῖται). ο α. ο.].
 ἔγρ(αφα) ὑ(πέρ) αὐτο[ῦ] γρ(άμματα) μὴ εἰδόςτος.

ii 19 l. χιρίζομεν 23 After ξηρᾶς: τρι[] could be read 24 At end: τάλ. possible 27 Be-
 fore προσφ/: a descender followed by two diagonal strokes. At end: after α: γ possible

- iii [ὕ]πατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κ[ωνσταντίνου Αὐγούστου τὸ η' καὶ]
 Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου Κ[αίσαρος τὸ δ' Φαῶφι λ].
 Φλαουίῳ Ἰουλιανῶ λ[ογιστῆ τοῦ Ὁξυρυγίτου]
 παρὰ τοῦ κοινῶ τῶν μυροπώλων [τῆς λα(μυρᾶς) καὶ λα(μυροτάτης) Ὁξ(υρυγίτων)
 πόλεως]
- 5 Θεῶνος Θεώνος προσφωνῶ ἰδίῳ τ[ιμῆματι τὴν ἐξῆς ἐγγεγραμμένην]
 τιμὴν ἐπὶ τοῦδε τοῦ μηνὸς ὧν χ[ειρίζομεν ὠνίων· καὶ ὀμνύω τὸν θεῖον]
 ὄρκον μηδὲν διεψεῦσθαι. [ἔστι δε·]
- | | | | |
|--------------------|---------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| (a) πιπέρεως | λι(τρ.) α τάλ. β | (b) [| λι(τρ.) α ... |
| λιβάνου | λι(τρ.) α τάλ. β | [| λι(τρ.) α ... |
| μαλαβάθρου | λι(τρ.) α τάλ. ν | ...χλω..[| λι(τρ.) α ... |
| στύρακος ὑψηλοῦ | λι(τρ.) α τάλ. κ | ζῆγκιπέρεως [| λι(τρ.) α ... |
| 5 στύρακος ἐλαφροῦ | λι(τρ.) α τάλ. ι | 5 πατήμα[τος | λι(τρ.) α ... |
| κόστου | λι(τρ.) α τάλ. σ | ἀσφαλάθ[θ]ο[υ] | λι(τρ.) α τ[άλ. ... |
| μαστίκης | λι(τρ.) α τάλ. . | ἀρναβ...ατιων | λι(τρ.) α [... |
| ἀμώμου | λι(τρ.) α τάλ. σ | σαγέλεως | λι(τρ.) α (δην.) ἄ |
| βδέλλης | λι(τρ.) α τάλ. . | σφαγνίου | λι(τρ.) α (δην.) ...[|
| 10 κασίας | λι(τρ.) α τάλ. .[| 10 ειρωνων | λι(τρ.) α (δην.) .[|
| κα[λ]άμου | λι(τρ.) α τάλ. .[| ἐλενιδίων | λι(τρ.) α (δην.) ἄ |
| [ψ]ιμυτίου | λι(τρ.) α τάλ. α (δην.) ἄ | ἀλκεωτίδος | λι(τρ.) α (δην.) ἄ |
| [ε]ανδυκίου | λι(τρ.) α τάλ. .δ[| ὄνυχίων [| λι(τρ.) α ... |
| ζμύρης | λι(τρ.) α τάλ. [... | ...μα[| λι(τρ.) α ... |
- Subscription: Αὐρ(ηλι...)

iii (a) 1 ἰ (and so throughout) 7 l. μαστίκης. Figure at end: ι or λ? 9 Figure at end:
 σ or π? 10 Figure at end: α? 12 l. ψιμυτίου (b) 4 l. ζῆγκιπέρεως 6 l. ἀσπαλάθου 7 ἀρ-
 ναβωρατίων? 8 Or σατέλεως? 14 First letter: κ or υ; next letters: λο?

ii 11 seq. For κεραμικός κέραμος, cf. *IG* 4² (i) 102. 281 (p. 323), 4th cent. B.C. (Epidaurus). For the pottery industry in Egypt in the Byzantine period, see Johnson and West, op. cit., pp. 115 seq.

14 [ε]πιλ[ε... : or possibly [ε]πιδ[ε... : so also i 17; ii 26; in each case the passage is damaged. ἐπιλε(χθεῖς)?

23 seq. πίεσης ξηρᾶς κ.τ.λ.: for the use of pitch in the preparation of wine jars, see Johnson and West, op. cit., p. 115. Many references to πίεση in the papyrus documents are in connexion with pottery and the wine industry; cf. introd. to 2580, below.

25 This will have begun a new item.

27 δ ἀγορ[... ?

iii 4 For the μυροπώλαι, see Johnson and West, op. cit., pp. 125 ff. Their guild is mentioned in BGU 9, col. i, ll. 17 seqq.

iii (a) 4 seq. The differentiation of storax into 'tall' and 'dwarf' seems otherwise unexampled, though Dioscorides (i 66) enumerates two kinds or qualities.

9 βδέλλα = βδέλλιον; well known as an alternative form; see LSJ, s.v.

(b) 5 πατήμα[τος: cf. 1142, 3; 1156, 9 (both 3rd cent.); *dai Papiri della Soc. ital.* (1965) (*Omaggio al xi congresso di pap.*) No. 12, 10 (3rd cent.) στύρακος πατήματος, where the editor suggests the meaning 'pesto' (*pounded spice*) rather than 'trodden grapes'.

7 ἀρναβ...ατιων: ἀρναβῶ (var. ἀρναβόν), 'Zedoary', occasionally mentioned in the medical texts; here uncertain whether this is all one word or two; if the former it will be an otherwise unexampled diminutive form, as σφάγνιον (b) 9; ἐλενίδιον (b) 11; ὄνυχιον (b) 13, below.

8 σαγέλεως (or possibly σατέλεως): unknown.

10 ειρωνων: unknown.

12 ἀλκεωτίδος: unknown; a herb, 'elk's-ear'?

13 ὄνυχίων: presumably diminutive of the aromatic substance in Diosc. ii 8.

2571. REPORT OF MEAT

Plate VII

9 × 25 cm.

27 July, A.D. 338

This is an account of deliveries of meat and silver submitted by a village liturgist to a *beneficiarius* on the staff of the prefect of Egypt. Because of the reference in *SPP* xx 75 i 15 seqq. to a β(ενε)φ(ικιαίριος) τοῦ ἡγεμόνος ἀπαιτῶν τὰς ἀνώννας τοῦ ἡγεμόνος I am inclined to think that the deliveries may have been part of the prefect's salary (see Hübner, *Der Praefectus Aegypti*, p. 18; Johnson and West, *Byz. Eg. Econ. Studies*, p. 229) rather than of the better-known *annonna militaris*.

Judging by the poor style of the document and the village origin of Aurelius Callistus I should guess that he was one of the college of ἀπαιτηταὶ ἀνώννης (cf. P. Amh. 139; Gelzer, *Studien*, p. 58), or an ἀπαιτητῆς κρέως (cf. 2232 12, which refers to the same village).

- Φλαυον(ί)ω Ουαλεριανῶ β(ενε)φ(ικιαρίω) τάξεως
ἐπάρχου Αἰγύπτου[υ]
Αὐρήλιος Κάλλιςτος Ἀβόριος ἀπὸ κώ(μης)
Κεσμούχεως ἡ πάγου τοῦ Ὁξύρνηχίτου
5 νομοῦ· ἐπιζητοῦντι ἡμῶν τῆς
σωματιζομέν[η]ς ἡτη χιριθισαν
λιτουργίαν κρέως γενήματος
ιβ' ἰνδικτίωνος, ἐν μὲν τῷ εἶδει
παραδεδώκαμεν ἐν χοίροις κρέως
10 λίτρας πεντακοσίας ἐβ[δο]μήκοντα
καὶ ἐν ἀργυρίοις . . . αρταις κρέως
λίτρας τριάκοντα ἐκ ταλαντων
δύο καὶ δραχμας διςχιμίας· κατὰ [.] ταῦτα
ὁμολογοῦμεν ὁμνύντες τὸν
15 σεβάσμιον θεῖ[ο]ν ὄρκον τῶν πάντων(ν)
ἀνικήτων τῶν δεσποτῶν Αὐτοκρατορ()
τε καὶ Καισάρων μηδὲν διεψεῦσθαι
εἰ ἔνο[χ]οι εἴημεν τῷ θείῳ ὄρκῳ καὶ τῷ
ἐπερτημένῳ κινδύνῳ ὡς πρόκ(εῖται)
20 ἔστι δέ·
Εὐδαίμονι πραιποσί(τω) ἐν ἀ(ρ)γυρ() λί(τραι) λ
ὑπατίας Φλαυρίου Ὁρσου καὶ Πολεμίου
τῶν λαμπροτάτων· Μεσορή γ·
[Αὐρήλιος Κάλ]λιςτος ἐπιδέδωκα·
25 Αὐρήλι[ος] . . . ρος ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ α(ὐτοῦ)
μὴ εἰδ(ότος) γράμματα·

3 κῶ 6 χιριθισαν: θ corrected from τ 15 παντῶ 16 αυτοκρατορ 18 l. ἦ 19 l. ἐπη-
ρημένῳ προκ 22 l. ὑπατίας 25 α

To Flavius Valerianus, beneficiarius of the staff of the prefect of Egypt, Aurelius Callistus, son of Aboris, from the village of Kesmouchis of the eighth pagus of the Oxyrhynchite nome. To your request for (an account) of the liturgy of meat of the produce of the twelfth indiction registered or entrusted to us (we report that) in kind we have delivered 570 pounds of meat in pigs, and in silver . . . thirty pounds of meat at the price of two talents, two thousand drachmae. Accordingly, having sworn the august, divine oath of the universally invincible, the lords the Emperor(s?) and the Caesars, that we have told no lies or may we be liable to the established penalty, we make our declaration as is aforesaid.

'Item. To Eudaemon the praepositus in silver . . . thirty pounds.

'In the consulship of Flavius Ursus and Polemius, *viri clarissimi*. Mesore 3rd.

'I, Aurelius Callistus, submitted the report.
'I, Aurelius . . . wrote on his behalf because he is illiterate.'

1 βενεφικιαρίω v. A. Stein, *Die Präfecten* p. 171; P. Cair. Isid. 63 introduction.
τάξεως ἐπάρχου: v. Hübner, op. cit., pp. 33 seqq. The prefect for this period is not precisely known. Flavius Antonius Theodorus replaced Flavius Philagrius in 337 and served till at least 28 Mar. 338; between then and the end of the year Philagrius returned to the office for a second time (C. Vandersleyen, *Chronologie des préfets d'Égypte de 284 à 395*, pp. 15, 129-30). It is just possible that this report may have been required because of the change of prefects. More likely it was part of the routine.

Ἀβόριος: not in Preisigke, *Namenbuch*; perhaps = Ἀβοῦρις, *ibid.* s.v.; and cf. Ἀβάρικ (gen.) P. Bad. ii 53, 9. We should probably read *παρὰ Αὐρήλιου Καλλίστου*, cf. P. Cair. Isid. 9, 11, 13.

5 seqq. Read, e.g., *ἐπιζητοῦντι <σοι λόγον> τῆς σωματιζομένης ἡμῶν ἡτοι <ἐγ> χειριθείσης λειτουργίας κρέως γενήματος ἰβ' ἰνδικτίωνος <δηλοῦμεν ὅτι> κ.τ.λ.*

11 My only idea is *ἐν ἀργυρίοις (= -είοις) χάρταις* 'sheets of silver'. This expression would be intelligible (cf. *χάρται μολύβδινοι* LSJ) and taxes were certainly paid in silver bullion (*ἀσημον*) in the 4th cent. (Johnson and West, *Currency*, p. 119), but it has not occurred before to my knowledge and the supposed χ is not wholly satisfactory. It resembles λ more closely. *ἀργυρίῳ χυτῶ* (cf. P. Ant. 38, 17) is not a possible reading. It may, just possibly, be relevant that in a 4th-cent. account (P. Harris 97, 14, 15) the item 'price of bullion: 21 tal. 700 den.' is immediately followed by *τι(μῆ) χαρτῶν* with a price of over 100 talents.

12 l. *ταλάντων δύο καὶ δραχμῶν διςχιλίων*: as a total this seems too low in comparison with prices given in Johnson and West, *Byz. Eg. Econ. Studies*, p. 185, though the texts are not well dated and the prices vary greatly. *ἐκ* often means 'at so much each' and 14,000 drachmae might be more suitable as a price per pound, but if so the omission of the total is strange.

13 *κατὰ [.] ταῦτα*: between the second α and τ there is a letter struck through, and τ is itself corrected, but the phrase is common form, cf. 897 10, 1265 14.

16 The formula is puzzling because no Caesars are known for this year apart from the three emperors, who were also Augusti from 9 Sept. 337. An oath formula of December 338 (P. Vind. Sijpesteijn I i 7 seqq. and repeated in ii 5-7) is *ὁμνῶς τὴν θεῖαν οὐράνιον τύχην τῶν τὰ πάντα νικῶντων δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν βασιλέων*, which is probably correct. What stands here is either the formula for Constantine's reign, i.e. *Αὐτοκράτορ(ος)*, etc. cf. 1265 16 seqq., taken over without change, or a faulty attempt to adapt it to the new reign, i.e. *Αὐτοκρατορ(ων)*, etc., ignoring the fact that there were no Caesars.

19 l. *ἐπερτημένῳ*: *προκ'* pap.

21 *Εὐδαίμονι*: perhaps -ωνι was written.

πραιποσι pap., without a mark of abbreviation, as also perhaps in 2232 3. Probably he was the *praepositus pagi*, whose work included the receipt of taxes (cf. 2114), but *praepositus* is also a military title and see 60 and 1513 for deliveries of meat to them. This delivery, of course, was the one made in silver; the deliveries in kind are mistakenly omitted here.

2572-6. ORDERS TO ARREST

These chits show no divergence from the normal form: for the parallels, see P. Lund vi 2, introduction (add P. Fay. 37; *Symb. Osl.* xxxvii (1962), p. 139). 2574 is exceptional in being written along the fibres (compare P. Cairo Preis. 5, P. Merton 29, P. Lund vi 2).

The orders are as usual undated. They are written in hands of the second and third centuries, and addressed to the archepodus—an official who makes his first appearance in a dated Oxyrhynchite document in A.D. 190 (69) and his last in 238/44

(80), but seems to have existed already in the early second century (969)¹ and to have survived into the fourth (1193).²

1212, a similar order, has been reused for a list of vegetables delivered to the archepodus. It seems probable, then, that such papers remained in the archepodus's archives and were not returned with the prisoner.

2572. 15.8 × 8.5 cm. Across the fibres. Second century A.D. The papyrus shows three folds parallel with the writing, and one across. During folding, the wet ink offset above and below the text.

ἀρχεφόδω Τανάεως· πέμψον
Πετεακῆν μητρὸς Τασεῦτος

'To the head-policeman of Tanais. Send Peteaces son of Taseus.'

¹ Τανάεως: Tanais in the middle toparchy (2422 52, 1747 44, 1659 64, 1444 8, etc.).

² Πετεακῆν: the name is absent from the indexes of P. Oxy. and from the *Namenbuch* (but cf. Πετεακοῆς).

2573. 16 × 8.3 cm. Across the fibres. Second century A.D. The papyrus shows four folds parallel with the writing, and one across. During folding the wet ink offset, producing a mirror image of l. 3 on the back of the sheet.

ἀρχεφόδω Ταλαῶ· πέμψον Κεφάλωνα
Ἡρακλήου μητρὸς Θασήσιος ὀριδοξί-
κτην καὶ ἱερεῖς Ἰσιδος τῆς αὐτῆς

'To the head-policeman of Talao. Send Cephalon son of Heraclius and Thaeasis, boundary-marker, and priests of Isis in the same village.'

¹ Ταλαῶ: Talao in the lower toparchy (2422 83, 1659 105, etc.).

²⁻³ ὀριδοξίκτην: for this official, who appears first in the late 2nd cent. and disappears in the later 4th cent., see *JJP* vi (1952), pp. 260 seqq.

2574. 8.6 × 10 cm. With the fibres. Second century A.D. The piece of papyrus here used seems to have been cut off the sheet or roll to the right of a completed document (perhaps a similar order): the tails of three final letters can be seen at the left edge, c. 4.5, 6.5, and 8 cm. respectively below the top.

ἀρχεφόδω Συναρὺ [
Διονύσιον Ἑρμογένους [
Ἰού[τ]ου Σαραπίωνος[

¹ The Oxyrhynchites was late in adopting the office: it is attested for the Arsinoites in the early 1st cent. B.C. (P. Tebt. 90, introd.), and for the Herakleopolites in the later 1st cent. (BGU viii 1855, 7, iv 1060, 33). Then at Euemeria in A.D. 29 (P. Ryl. 127), at Caranis under Claudius (P. Mich. vi 421), etc.

² The reading might be doubted: but W. *Chr.* 382. 10 is certain (A.D. 359, Philadelphia), and compare P. Princ. ii 99, 6.

'To the head-policeman of Sinary. (Send) Dionysius son of Hermogenes . . . Justus son of Sarapion . . .'

¹ Συναρὺ: Sinary in the lower toparchy (2422 92, 1659 102, 1462 26, etc.).

² The shortest supplement would be [ἐντυχόντος, cf. 969, etc. (A commoner formula is [ἐγκαλούμενον ὑπό, and this occurs in the Oxyrhynchite text *Symb. Osl.* xxxvii (1962), p. 139.) In any case [πέμψον in 1 will make a rather short line: probably [μετάπεμψον (969).

2575. 20.1 × 7.9 cm. Across the fibres. Second to third century. The hand is mannered and flamboyant, with a tall narrow epsilon, triangular phi, and flattened omega; hypsilon appears generally as 7, once as Υ.

ἀρχεφόδω Ταρουθίνου ἐποικίου· π[έμ]ψο[ν]
Ἀνδρο[ό]μαχο[ν] καὶ Παοῦν γερδίους .[.].τι[.
.].υπλουτο[.].να.δ[.]. ἐντυ[χ]όν[τ]ων τ[ε]-
λωνῶν βαφικῆς

'To the head-policeman of Tarouthinou Epoikion. Send Andromachus and Paous, weavers . . . at the petition of the collectors for the dyeing trade.'

¹ Ταρουθίνου ἐποικίου: Tarouthinou Epoikion, perhaps in the Eastern toparchy (384).

² .τι[. : before τ, a vertical sloping slightly to the right.

³ .[.].υ : an upright.

.να.δ[.]. : before ν, an upright; after α, a long descender.

³⁻⁴ The traces and the spacing allow, I think, e.g. κ[α]τ[ε] τ[ε]ξ[ί] τ[ο]υ Πλούτο[υ] κ[α]ταδ[ο]μ[ο]ν: but clearly this reading has little else to be said for it. (*κίναιδοι* are professional dancers: P. Tebt. 208, SB 7182, 96, *CIG* iv 4926 and notes.)

³⁻⁴ τ[ε]λωνῶν βαφικῆς: the office is not attested, but *ἐπιτηρηταὶ μισθοῦ βαφικῆς* appear in P. Ryl. 98. For sets of telonai and epiteretai in the same monopoly compare the *γερδιακόν*, and, e.g., 2472. The epiteretai in P. Ryl. 98 figure as lessors of the *ἱστωναρχία* at Archelais: the telonai here may have a similar reason for their interest in the two weavers.

2576. 9.6 × 9.9 cm. Across the fibres. Third century. Below the writing is a blob of dried clay or mud about 2 cm. long and 1½ cm. wide, bearing an oval seal-impression.

The seal shows a nude standing figure. The impression is blurred, and even on an enlarged photograph some details remain doubtful. Most probably, I think, the figure's head looks to the spectator's right. The right arm (on the spectator's left) is crooked upward at the elbow; the hand holds a straight rod, and from the elbow hangs a fold of drapery. Behind the neck, and above the forehead, are sharp peaks which suggest a *petasos*. (I owe these points to Mr. N. J. Richardson and Miss J. MacIver. Others have thought that the right arm is lowered: the rod and the drapery then make up a sceptre or a sprouting cornucopia!) I have found no exact parallel. Some features recur in the clay sealings from the Fayûm published by Milne, *JHS* xxvi (1906), pp. 32 seqq. (esp. nos. 39-44 and 50); and Dr. J. R. Harris points out likenesses with the figure of Harpocrates of Pelusium (Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets* 140 seqq.). An inscription seems to have run round the edge of the oval, since the letters ΔΟ are discernible at the bottom left, and Ε at the bottom right.

This is evidently a private seal, like that on P. Lond. ii 379 (a laconic note to an archepodus and the presbyteri—*μη παρενοχλίτε Ακιάρι*). Official seals are found on two other orders to arrest: P. Gen. 102 (*Archiv* 3, 226), which is sealed with the inscription *δ στρατηγός σε καλεῖ*; and P. Tebt. 290, whose seal has the same inscription enclosing a bust of (perhaps) the emperor.¹ The seal would of course serve as authentication—presumably from the strategus or one of his subordinates, since these orders seem to have emanated from his office (P. Lund vi, p. 9).

ἀρχεφόδω Μερμέρθων·
πέμψον Ἐρωτα οἱ[ν]έμ-
πορον ἐντυχόντος Διοσ-
κόρου × × × × × × × × × ×
5 [×] × × ×

'To the head-policeman of Mermertha. Send Eros the wine-merchant at the petition of Dioscorus.'
1 *Μερμέρθων*: Mermertha in the upper toparchy (2129 2, 1659 17, etc.).

4-5 The border as in BGU 148 and 634; P. Cairo Preis. 5; P. Lund. vi 2 (and, e.g., in the customs receipt P. Merton i 20). It was perhaps a precaution against unlicensed additions (Knudtzon).

2577. ORDER FROM STRATEGUS

8.2 × 10.2 cm.

Third or fourth century

The nome-governor requisitions transport and escort for a traveller: compare 1193. Guards were part of the normal village establishment (cf. 2121-2), and the head-policeman would have donkeys at his disposal (63).

The text is written along the fibres. The papyrus shows five folds at right angles to the writing. On the back are traces of a single line, parallel with the fibres: too little remains to show whether it was an address or a docket.

π(αρά) τοῦ στρατηγοῦ
κωμάρχ(αις) καὶ ἀρχεφόδ(ω)
κώμη(ς) Θερήσεως· δύο ὄνους
καὶ ἐνὰ φύλακα τῶ ἀνα-
5 διδοῦντι ὑμεῖν τὰ γράμ-
ματα παράσχεται
μέχρι τῆς Μέμφεως
(2nd hd.?) ἐσημ(ειωσάμην)

¹ Cf. the seals and customs receipts, which carry imperial portraits (Boak and Petersen, *Soknopaiou Nesos* 24 seq.; *TAPA* lxxxii (1951), pp. 164 sqq.). The use of seals is discussed in *Aeg.* xiv (1934), pp. 247 seqq.

1 π' 5 ὑμεῖν 6 l. παράσχετε

'From the strategus to the comarchs and archepodus of the village of Theresis. Provide two donkeys and one guard for the man who delivers this letter to you, as far as Memphis.'—'I have signed it.'

2 ἀρχεφόδ(ω): a plural would be less usual (63 10; more often in the Fayûm, BGU 6, 5 and 22, 471, 3, 909, 10, P. Berl. Leihg. 6, 15, SB 7368, 11).

3 Θερήσεως: this village is not attested in Preis. *WB*, or in the indexes of P. Oxy.

2578-9. TAX-RECEIPTS FOR ἐπικεφάλαιον

Four texts like these were known hitherto, PSI 163, 302, 462, and 780, discussed by A. Déléage, *La Capitation du Bas-Empire*, pp. 46 seqq., and by Johnson and West, *Byz. Eg. Econ. Studies*, pp. 260 seq. The hypothesis of Déléage, that the receipts are for a poll-tax of 1,200 dr. per person per annum, though it might seem to be supported by 2578, which records a payment of 2,400 dr. for a man and his son, leaves unexplained a payment of eight myriads in PSI 302. The new reading of (μυριάδες) η' for (μυριάδες) κς was made by Professor Bartoletti and communicated to me by letter.

Johnson and West (p. 261) believe that these were payments for an 'assessment imposed on Oxyrhynchus . . . and apportioned among the citizens in accordance with their capacity to pay, that is, in accordance with their property'.

The second of these receipts is signed by a *μηνιάρχης*, that is by a guild official instead of, as usual (PSI 163, 462), by the *κυεράτης*, a municipal official. It seems from this that some of the contributions were made by the guild, which then recovered the money from its members. Payment of taxes by a guild seems to be attested for the fifth century by 1330 and 1331 (*v.* Johnson and West, *op. cit.*, pp. 153, 261). The occupation of the contributors seems to be specified (*v.* n. l. 9) as it is in PSI 780, 5 (*αχουάς*). I had hoped that the doubtfully read PSI 780, 11 would prove to contain the word *μηνιάρχης* and the document would thus prove to be a parallel, but Professor Bartoletti checked the papyrus for me with this in mind and did not find it substantiated. He reads the line as follows: -*αυρ̄ μαρ ω ντο σεεῆ*. which excludes my suggestion though an explanation still remains to be found.

The payment is one of 1,600 dr., which does not correspond with Déléage's theory, though a part payment in these circumstances is not impossible.

2578

8 × 15 cm.

30 March A.D. 298

διεγράφη ὑπ(ἐρ) ἐπικαιφαλαίου τοῦ δι[ε]λθόν]τρ[ε] (ἔτους)
 ιγ' καὶ ιβ' καὶ ε' τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ
 καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ καὶ Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ
 Σεβαστῶν ὀνο(άτων) Θωνίου καὶ Κάστορος υἱοῦ
 5 δραχμὰς διςχιλίας τετρακοσίας (δραχμὰς) Βυ
 ἔτους ιδ' καὶ ιγ' καὶ ε' Φαρμουθι δ'

Δίδυμος σεσημείωμαι

1 l. ἐπικεφαλαίου 7 l. σεσημείωμαι 8 υἱοῦ

'There was paid for capitation tax of the past thirteenth and twelfth and fifth year of our lords Diocletian and Maximian and Constantius and Maximian, Augusti, in the names of Thonius and Castor, his son, two thousand four hundred drachmae (dr. 2,400).

'In the fourteenth and thirteenth and sixth year, on the fourth Pharmouthi.
 'I, Didymus, have signed.'

7 Δίδυμος: he is probably the *cuestatēs* (cf. PSI 163, 462; Mertens, *Les Services*, pp. 39 seqq.), or possibly his *βοηθός* (PSI 462). Since the occupation of the taxpayers is not mentioned, I suppose that this is not a receipt from a guild official, but cf. 2579 11.

2579

13.5 × 9 cm.

4 August A.D. 313 (?)

(b) διεγράφη ὑπὲρ ἐπικεφα-
 λείου πόλεως τοῦ ἐνοστῶτος
 [ξ] (ἔτους) καὶ ε' (ἔτους) ἀκολουθῶς τῇ κε-
 λεύσει τοῦ διασημοτάτου
 5 ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς χιλίας
 ἑξακοσίας (δραχμὰς) Ἀχ' ὑπὲρ ὀνο-
 μάτων δύο Διόσκορος
 κ[α]ὶ Παγένης υἱὸς τοῦ προ-
 κε[ι]μένου σιππασδες·
 10 Μεσορῆ ια'
 Ἡρακλείδης μνηιάρχης
 σεσημείωμε

1 l. ἐπικεφαλαίου 2 l. ἐνοστῶτος 7-9 l. Διοκόρου καὶ Παγένους υἱοῦ τοῦ προκειμένου σιπ-
 πάτων υἱός 12 l. σεσημείωμαι

'There was paid for the city capitation tax of the present (seventh) and fifth year in accordance with the command of the most illustrious . . . one thousand and six hundred drachmae of silver (dr. 1,600), under two names, Dioscorus and Pagenes, son of the aforesaid, tow-workers. Twelfth Mesore.
 'I, Heracleides, president for the month, have signed.'

1 ἐπικεφαλαίου: no distinction between this and ἐπικεφαλαίου is intended, cf. 2131 10 n. On the phonetic equivalence of the two see L. R. Palmer, *Grammar of the Post-Ptolemaic Papyri*, pp. 3, 48 n. 1.

3 [ξ] καὶ ε' (Constantine and Licinius) = 312/13 cf. Wilcken, *Archiv* iii 383 seq. [ς] καὶ ε', (Diocletian and Maximian) = 289/90 would be much earlier than the other documents, and the financial reform with which this tax is associated is thought to have occurred c. A.D. 297, cf. P. Cair. Isid. 1. A.D. 310/11 (7 Maximianus, 5 Constantine) is also possible, v. P. Cair. Isid. 54, 9 (?); 146, 4, 6, 8, 10.

6 Α: the sign for 1,000 is abnormal. It appears to be based on the usual one of a surmounted by a hook and looks rather like that combination in P. Warr. 12 15 (Pl. IV), but its construction is that of a Z with a crossbar, i.e. Ζ. Note that in P. Michael. 33, 10 and 14 ζ (ἡμισυ) was misread as α (ἡμισυ) v. *TAPA* lxxxix (1958), pp. 378 seq.

9 σιππασδες: the form is not easily explicable, but I take it to be a noun in -ac from σιππέιον (στυππέιον), meaning a seller or maker of tow; see L. R. Palmer, op. cit. 49 seq. for many new words of this sort and cf. *χοινᾶς* in PSI 780 5. Perhaps the scribe wrote the singular first, for the plural wrote δ instead of τ, as often (Maysr i 175), and forgot to erase the superfluous c. For a procedure apparently of the same sort cf. *TAPA* xci (1960), p. 139 (P. Cornell Inv. no. i, 81 l. 24), where *αγραμματαον* = *αγραμμάτων*, i.e. *αγραμματα* was corrected without erasing the mistaken letter.

11 μνηιάρχης: this officer is known only in Oxyrhynchite guilds, see San Nicolò, *Ägyptisches Vereinswesen* ii 55, 53 3, 84 6, 1139 2.

2580. ACCOUNT OF PITCH

9 × 33.5 cm.

Earlier third century

These crudely written accounts stand on the verso of a long, narrow strip of papyrus, leaving the lower half of it blank. They deal with a single transaction, the purchase and shipment of 100 talents of pitch. Pitch often figures in accounts: it had many uses, for example in pottery (1754; 2570 ii; BGU 884; PSI 441), as a medicine (P. Grenf. i 52; PSI 487), and for waterproofing (Pliny *N.H.* 16, 11, 21; PSI 437). The price here quoted (2-3 n.) suggests a date *before* c. 250, and the hand points to a date *after* c. 200.

The recto contains a single column of twenty lines, written in elegant second-century cursive; the beginnings of the lines disappeared when the parent roll was cut up and reused. The text presents a list of house-property and vacant lots. Each entry is followed by a figure in drachmae (1, 6, 12, 16, 50, 67 dr.); in most cases there are also *προ(δια)γραφόμενα* of one-sixteenth, calculated on a six-obol drachma. Clearly we have to do with taxation, and taxation on real estate. This points to the *ἐγκύκλιον*. Most of the sums mentioned fit such a supposition: i.e. they could represent 10 per cent. of a purchase price (Wallace, *Taxation* 227 seqq.)—compare the prices listed by Johnson, *Economic Survey* ii 257 seqq.

- τειμῆς πίσεως [(ταλ.) . .] βώλ(ων) ξ̄α' (ταλ.) ρ
 μνῶν ἧ ὥς τοῦ (ταλ.) α
 (δρ.) σα, (ταλ.) α (δρ.) Ἄρ· ἀφ' ὧν κου-
 φίζονται τοῦ σταθμοῦ
 5 ἐνδέοντ(ος) ὥς τοῦ (ταλ.) α
 μνάς Ld, γίνονται τῶν
 ταλάντων ῥ μναῖ ῥδ
 (δρ.) πῆ. λο(ιπὸν) τειμ(ῆς) [(δρ.)] (ταλ.) α (δρ.) Ἀιβ.
 ἐργάτ(αις) ἰστῶσι τὴν πίσε(ων) (δρ.) ἦ
 10 μεταφέρουσι ἰς τὸ πλοῖον
 ὥς τοῦ βώλ(ου) [—] βώλ(ων) [ξ̄.]
 ξ̄α (δρ.) ιζ —
 φόρου ζυγ(οστασίας) καὶ σταθ(μοῦ) (δρ.) β̄
 φόρου ζυγ(οστασίας) ἀγορανόμ(ου) ἀντὶ συν-
 15 κρίσεως σταθ(μοῦ) —
 σωρακίων καὶ θύρας F

'Cost of pitch: 61 lumps, i.e. 100 tal. 8 minae, at 71 dr. per talent: 1 tal. 1,100 dr. From this is deducted—since the standard lacks $\frac{3}{4}$ mina per talent, in all 94 minae on 100 tal.—88 dr. Remaining cost, 1 tal. 1,012 dr. To the workmen for weighing the pitch, 8 dr.; for transporting it to the boat, 61 lumps at 2 ob. per lump, 17 dr. 1 ob. Payment for weighing and standard, 2 dr. Payment for weighing, to the agoranomos, in return for comparison of the standard, 1 ob. Baskets and door (?), 5 ob.'

2-3 Prices were much higher in the middle and late 3rd cent.: a talent of dry pitch cost 240 dr. in A.D. 255 (BGU 14 iv 6); a talent of pitch cost 3,400 dr. in A.D. 279 (P. Oxy. 1497 6 seq.). See Johnson, *Economic Survey* ii 473 seq.

7 ῥδ is a mistake for οε: the total deficit must have been $100 \times \frac{3}{4} = 75$ minae, and the total rebate $75 \times \frac{7}{6} = 88\frac{3}{4}$ drachmae. The writer reached the correct answer in line 8, despite his mistake—of course, he knew already how much rebate he had claimed; the process of calculation is just a formality.

11-12 After ὥς τοῦ βώλ(ου) the papyrus has a single horizontal stroke (1 obol) above a small lacuna. The arithmetic requires us to restore a second stroke (2 obols). Even so, the total in l. 12 is only approximate: assuming a 7-obol drachma (which gives the closest result), the carriage-charge works out at 17 dr. 3 ob. The writer has omitted the haggling and approximations which stand between the agreed rate and the sum actually disbursed.

16 σωρακίων: the diminutive (not in the *WB* or *LSJ*) was already conjectured for *IG*² 1488, 7. This line may well refer to the same transaction at 1-15: compare BGU 14 iv 9 and 12, where pitch is bought εἰς πιεσοκοπίαν . . . σωρ[άκω]ν.

2581. LIST OF BUILDINGS AND MATERIALS

13 × 22 cm.

Third century

This piece of an account was cut from a larger sheet or a roll to take the letter which appears on the verso (2600). The foot is intact, the straight edges at the sides each pass through a column so that there are only ends of lines from the first column and beginnings from the second. It is damaged at the top.

It gives a list of buildings together with amounts of building materials used or to be used upon them. No amounts of money appear.

The occurrence of a 'great praetorium' and probably a gymnasium shows that the place was an important one. The mention of a temple or shrine of Apis suggests that it was Memphis, for which alone an *Ἀπιεῖον* is actually attested (BGU 347 i 5, ii 3; *OGIS* 90 33), but Wilcken thought there was an *aedicula* of Apis in Alexandria (*UPZ* i, p. 93) and there may even be a trace of Apis worship in Oxyrhynchus (E. G. Turner, *Recherches de Papyrologie* ii, p. 120, 1029 17).

PRIVATE DOCUMENTS

2582. SALE OF SLAVE

24.6 × 10 cm.

31 January, A.D. 49

Little more than the prescript of this deed survives—the top strip from what must have been a very handsome document (the margins are of 4 to 4.5 cm., the hand is a splendidly rapid and professional cursive). The sale was transacted at Euergetis above Memphis, and the seller himself comes from Taamechis in the Heracleopolites; no doubt it was the buyer, Pasion, who took this copy home to Oxyrhynchus.

ἔτους ξνδεκάτου Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου καίσαρος σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ αὐτοκράτορος
 Μεχέιρ
 ἕκτη σεβαστῆ ἐν Εὐεργέτιδι(ι) τῆ ὑπὲρ Μέμφιν ἐπ' ἀγορανόμου Ἀρβεῦς ἐπρίατο
 Πασιῶν Ἀρθώνιος
 τῶν ἀπὸ Ὁξυρύγχων πόλεως τῆς Θηβαίδος ὡς (ἐτῶν) νβ μέσο(ς) μελίχ(ρω)ς f οὐ(λή)
 καρπῶ ἀριστερῶ παρὰ
 Μητροφάνους Ἡρᾶτος τῶν ἀπὸ κώμης Τααμήχεως τοῦ Κώϊτου τοῦ ὑπὲρ Μέμφιν
 5 Ἡρακλεοπολείτου ὡς (ἐτῶν) νη μέσο(ν) μελίχ(ρου)ς f οὐ(λή) πῆχι ἀριστερῶ ἐν
 ἀγνιᾷ Εὐόρμω ἦν ἔφη ὁ Μητρο-
 φάνης ὑπάρχειν αὐτῶ οἰκογένην δούλην ἧ ὄνομα Δημητρ[ο]ῦν ὡς (ἐτῶν) κε μέση(ν)
 μελίχ(ρου)ν

2 ευεργετῆ 3, 5 μεσομελίχδ

'Eleventh year of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, sixth of Mecheir, *dies augusta*: at Euergetis above Memphis, before Harbes as agoranomos. Pasion son of Harthonis, from the city of Oxyrhynchus in the Thebaid, age about 52 years, middle height, honey-coloured, long-faced (?), a scar on the left wrist, bought from Metrophanes son of Heras, from the village of Taamechis in the Coite toparchy of the Heracleopolite nome above Memphis, age about 58 years, middle height, honey-coloured, long-faced (?), a scar on the left forearm, in the street of the good anchorage (?), a home-bred female slave whom Metrophanes stated to be his property, her name Demetrous, age about 25 years, middle height, honey-coloured. . . .'

2 σεβαστῆ: Mecheir 6 is not recorded in Snyder's list of *dies augustae* (*Aeg.* 18 (1938), pp. 197 seqq.). Hathyr 6 was so celebrated in A.D. 40, Epagomenai 6 in 79 and 91/107, Phaophi 6 in 159. See now *Aeg.* 44 (1964), p. 160.

Εὐεργέτιδι(ι): this town was the seat of an agoranomos, that is, capital of its nome or at least of its toparchy (Mitteis, *Gz.* 58); and it was south of Memphis. Notice the nome-capital Euergetis in 1025 (*W. Chr.* 493),¹ and the Heracleopolite² Euergetis in 814. Was Euergetis another name for Heracleopolis Magna?

¹ A festival of Kronos is likely enough in the Heracleopolites, cf. Holm, *Griech.-Ägypt. Namenstudien* 80.

² If the other village mentioned (Thelbo) is a guide: P. Hib. 218, 52, n.

3, 5 f: a tall rho, the head level with the suprascript χ which precedes it, the tail bisected by a horizontal which joins the σ of δ. This rho clearly does not belong to μελίχρ(ω)ς, for the double-letter suspension and the cross-stroke would both be abnormal; and in fact μελί alone appears at the end of l. 6. f normally represents πρ or χρ: here I can think of nothing more plausible than (μακρο)-πρ(όσωπος), the word which commonly occurs at this point in the formula (*Studi della Scuola Papyrologica* IV ii 29). Some early Roman documents have the form μα(κρο)πρ(όσωπος) (254; 256; P. Ryl. 156; 159), but there is no sign of the first two letters in 2582.

4 Τααμήχεως: I have not found the name of this village elsewhere. The Coite toparchy is well attested for both Ptolemaic and Roman times (P. Hib. i-ii, BGU viii, *Chronique d'Égypte* xxiii (1948), pp. 149 seq.; BGU iii 958 (a) note, *SPP* xx 32. 8).

5 εὐόρμω: the adjective (itself rare and poetical) raises obvious difficulties: (1) elsewhere the formulaic ἐν ἀγνιᾷ has no qualification; (2) street-names normally follow a much more concrete pattern—gods or persons, trades, or nationalities. But I have failed to find another reading (the ink is quite clear).

2583. DIVISION OF INHERITED PROPERTY

14.3 × 18.6 cm.

Second century

Diophantus and Horion divide up the estate of Heraclius. The estate consists in assets (5–10) and liabilities (12–17): as assets, movables and grains and donkeys; as liabilities, money owed on mortgage and in arrears of taxation. Horion takes half the assets, and pays over to Diophantus his share of the liabilities. A further arrangement was made (22 seqq.) for the division of a leased farm, but the details remain obscure. For similar documents, cf. 1278 and 1637–8; Calderini gives a list of *diaireses* in *Studi . . . Arangio-Ruiz* iii 277.

The text is written on the recto, parallel with the fibres, in a normal second-century cursive.

[ὄμ]ολογοῦσιν ἀλλήλο[ι]ς Διοφάντος Ἡρακλείου
 [τοῦ Διο]φάντου καὶ Ὠρίων θέσει τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἡρακλείου
 [ἀμφότε]ροι ἀπὸ Ὁξυρύγχων πόλεως διειρηθῆναι
 5 πρ[ὸ]ς ἑαυτοὺς τὰ ἀπολιθθέντα αὐτοῖς ἐξ ἴσου
 ὑπ[ὸ] τ[οῦ] Ἡρακλείου ἔπιπλα καὶ κεύη καὶ ἔνδομε-
 νείαν καὶ πυρὸν καὶ ἕτερα ὄσπρεα καὶ οὐκ ἔχου-
 10 ci ὁμοίως ἐξ ἴσου ὄνους δύο, καὶ ἑκάτερον
 αὐτῶν παρεληφέναι αὐτόθι εἰς τὸ ἴδιον συν-
 πεπ[. . .]μένον ἃ καὶ (κε)κλήρωται εἰς τὸ κατ' αὐ-
 τοῦ[ς] ἡμ[ε]ρα μέρους ἀπὸ τῶν δύο ὄνων ὄνον ἐνά-
 15 κ[α]ί [μ]ή] ἐγκαλεῖν ἑκάτερον αὐτῶν τῶ ἐπέ-
 ρω περι τ[οῦ]των, ὁ δὲ Διοφάντος μηδὲ περι τῆς
 γεναμένης εἰς κοινὰ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλείου
 γεώργια προχρήσεως πάσης καὶ ἧς εἶχεν
 20 ὁ Ἡράκλειος κοινῆς λοιπογραφίας διὰ τὸ ἀπε-
 σχ[η]κέναι αὐτὸν παρὰ τοῦ Ὠρίωνος τὸ ἐπιβαλ-
 [λον] αὐτῶ μέρους, ἀμφότεροι δὲ μηδὲ περι
 [ἐ]τέρου τ[ῆ]ς γραπτῆς ἢ ἀγράφου πράγματος
 [.....]ου τῶν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἢ τὸν Ἡράκλειον
 25 [.....]οντων ἐκ τῶν ἐπάνω χρόνων μέχρι
 [τῆς ἐνε]στῶσης ἡμέρας π[α]ρευρέσει μηδεμιᾶ.
 [.....]... πρ[ὸ]βατα πάντα καὶ ὁ χόρτος ὁ συν-
 [.....]ρος ἐν [τ]ῇ χορτοθήκῃ καὶ ἡ γεωργία
 [.....]πο. . . . τῆς μισθώσεως χρόνου οὐ
 30 [ἐ]μισθώ]σατο ὁ Ἡράκλειος περι Ζχοῖβιν κλήρου
 [ἀ]κολού]θως τῇ μισθώσει ἐστὶ τοῦ μὲν Διοφάντου
 [.....] ἢ [μ]ερα τέταρτον [μ]έρους τοῦ δὲ Ὠρίωνο(ς)
 [.....]ντετ[. . .] . . . ροσιμενοντων
 [.....].

3 1. διηρηθῆναι 9 Perhaps -πεπ[ε]μένον Perhaps ἃ καικλήρωται, 1. κεκλ- 15 ὁ: ο corr from η?
 19 καθ]όλου not suggested 20 ἀνη]κοντων too short 22 Perhaps]..ς 25 ὁ: corr. from η.
 Ζχοῖβιν: χ is a correction 28 Perhaps]ν τέτα[ρτον] μέρος

'Diophantus, son of Heraclius and grandson of Diophantus, and Horion, adopted son of the same Heraclius, both from the city of Oxyrhynchus, acknowledge to one another that they have divided between themselves what was left to them on equal shares by Heraclius, implements and utensils and furniture and wheat and other grains and the two donkeys which they hold likewise on equal shares; and that each of them has taken into his own possession at once . . . what has fallen by lot to their

own half-share, one donkey out of the two donkeys; and that neither of them makes any charge against the other in this matter, nor does Diophantus either about the entire advance-loan on farmland held in common by himself and Heraclius or about the common arrears belonging to Heraclius, because he has received from Horion the share which falls to him, nor do either of them about any other matter written or unwritten in respect of themselves or Heraclius from former times up to the present day, on any pretext at all. . . . all the sheep and the hay collected in the hay-barn and the farm . . . the period of the lease of the plot which Heraclius leased at Schoibis . . . in accordance with the lease. . . .'

¹⁰ Something seems to have fallen out after μέρος. As the clause stands, it implies that the parties have *not* taken possession of their shares in the movables and grains (contrast the plural & in 9).

²⁵ Ζχοῖβιν is the most likely reading, but I cannot parallel it as a place-name.

2584. LEASE OF LAND

17 × 17 cm.

A.D. 211

This is a contract for a five-year lease of arable land and at the same time a receipt for the whole rent paid in advance. In the text it is called a *μισθαποχή* (Herrmann, *Bodenpacht*, pp. 13 seqq., 234 seqq.; Waszynski, *Bodenpacht*, pp. 24 seqq., 107 seq.) and this is apparently the earliest use of the term. Parallel documents known to me are 2284 (258), BGU 409 (313), P. Harris 82 (345), CPR 247 (346), P. Gen. 67, 69, 70 (382, 386, ? 381), P. Gron. 9 (392).¹ P. Gen. 66 (374) and P. Cair. Isid. 98 (291/2) are similar but do not contain the word *μισθαποχή*, which is also used in passing in BGU 944 (4th/5th cent.). Some documents containing the words *ἐκ προδόματος* or described as *προδοματικαὶ μισθώσεις* (Herrmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 229 seqq.) appear to concern essentially similar transactions, but the *πρόδομα* is often only a part payment.

Subjoined to the contract is a petition by which the woman lessor asked the exegetes to appoint a guardian for her.

On the verso is a single line of writing: *μ]ισθαποχή (ἀρουρῶν) 5 διὰ τρα(πέζης) θ. κ.* In the left margin there are several letters and signs which I am unable to read.

¹ Add now P. Lugd. Batav. XIII, no. 17 (3rd cent.).

2585. LEASE OF FALLOW LAND

14 × 22.7 cm.

October/November, A.D. 315

This is a conventional *epidoche*: on the form see J. Herrmann, *Studien z. Bodenfacht* 25 seqq. Aurelius Leonidas, who here leases fallow land in the *περίχωμα Πέκτυ*, appears again in 103 (A.D. 316) and PSI 469 (A.D. 334), where he leases land in the neighbouring *περίχωμα Νέελα* (cf. PSI 187, 8 seqq.); in all three leases the land is to be sown with flax. The rent per aroura here stipulated shows a sharp increase on 102, a similar contract of A.D. 306: 4 tal. against 1 tal. 3,500 dr. Naturally short-term leases were the rule at this time.

The other Oxyrhynchite leases are listed by Herrmann and in the introduction to 2351.

ὑπατείας τῶν δεσπ[οτ]ῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου
καὶ Λικωνίου σεβ[α]στῶν τ[ὸ] δ'

Ἀυρηλίῳ Διοσκουρίδου τῷ καὶ Ἰουλιανῷ γυμνασίῳ ἀρχόντων
τι πρυτανεύσαντι βου(λεύτη) τῆς λαμ(πράς) καὶ λα(μ(προτάτης)) Ὁξυρ(υγχειτῶν)
πό[λ]εως

5 παρὰ Ἀυρηλίου Λεονίδου Θεώνος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως.
ἐκουσίως ἐπιδέχομε μισθώσασθαι πρὸς μ[ε]τρ[ο]ν τὸ ἐ-
νεστὸς ἰ' καὶ ἡ' ἔτος ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐν περι-
χώματι Πέκτυ ἐδάφους Καράβου λεγομένην ἀπὸ νω-
τίνων ἀρουρῶν δέκα ἐκ τοῦ ἀπὸ λιβὸς ἐπὶ .[.] οἱ μέρες-
10 ἢ ὅσα ἐν ᾧ σπορὰν νιλοκαλάμης φόρου ἐκά-
στης ἀρουρῆς ἀνὰ ἀργυρίου ταλάντων τεσάρων ἀκίνδυ-
να πάν[τα] παντὸς κινδύ[ν]ου τῶν τῆς γῆ[ς] δημοσί-
ων ὄν[των] πρὸς τὸν γεοῦχον κυριεύ[ον]τα τῶν καρ-
15 πῶν ἕως τὰ ὀφειλόμενα ἀπολαβῆς. βε[β]εουμένης
δέ μοι τῆς ἐπιδόχης ἐπάναγκες ἀποδώ[ω] τὸν ἀργυ-
ρικὸν φόρον Παῦνι καὶ Ἐφίπ μησί[ν] [τοῦ] αὐτοῦ [ἔ]τους
ἀνυπερθέτως γινομένης σοι τῆς π[ρ]άξεως παρ[α]
20 τε ἐμ[οῦ] ὡ[ς] καθήκει. κυρία ἡ ἐπιδόχη κ[αὶ] ἐ[πε]ρωτηθ[ε]ῖς
ὡμολόγησα.

(ἔτους) ἰ' καὶ ἡ' τῶν αὐτῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν [Κωνσ]ταντίνου
καὶ Λικωνίου σεβαστῶν Ἀθ[η]ν[ῶν]

(2nd hd.) Ἀυρηλίος Διοσκουρίδης ὁ καὶ Ἰουλιανός

δι' ἐμοῦ Μωριανὸς βοήθ(οῦ) ἔ[χ]ο[ν] τ[ο]ύ[τ]ο[υ]

25 τὸ ἔσον.

1 ὑπατείας 3 Ἰουλιανῷ 1 Διοσκουρίδῃ, Ἰουλιανῷ 3-4 1. -αρχόντι 4 βου 6 1. ἐπι-
δέχομαι 7 ὑπαρχόντων 8-9 1. νοτίνων 10 1. ἡμῶν, γεωμετρί- 11 1. ὅσα ἂν, εἰς σπορὰν
λινοκαλάμης 15 1. βεβαιουμένης 17 1. Ἐπίφ 18 ἀνυπερθέτως 20 second o of ὡμολόγησα
is a correction 24 1. Μωριανῶ 25 ἔσον

' In the 4th consulship of our masters Constantinus and Licinius Augusti. To Aurelius Dioscorides also called Julianus, gymnasiarch and former prytanis and senator of the illustrious and most illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus, from Aurelius Leonidas, son of Theon, of the same city. Of my own free will I undertake to lease, for the present 8th and 10th year only, out of your possessions at the Embankment of Pekty, in the so-called ground of Karabus, fallow land measuring two and a half arourae according to the survey, or however many arourae there are, being part of the ten southern arourae on the west . . . with a view to the sowing of flax, at a rent of four talents of silver for each aroura, the whole amount being guaranteed against risk of any kind; and the public dues of the land rest on you, the landowner, and you remain owner of the produce until you receive your due. If the undertaking is confirmed to me, I shall of necessity pay over the money rent in the months Pauni and Epiph of the same year, without delay; and you have the right of execution on me as is proper. The undertaking is valid; and, in answer to the question, I have made acknowledgement. Year 10 and 8 of our lords the same Constantinus and Licinius Augusti, Hathyr . . . (2nd hd.) I, Aurelius Dioscorides also called Julianus, have received a duplicate of this, through me, Morianus the assistant.'

1-2, 21-22 The old and new systems of dating are combined, as in other documents of this transitional period: cf. 102 (A.D. 306); P. Lips. 19 (A.D. 319). See J. Herrmann 41.

9 .[.] οἱ: Youtie suggests π[ε]λοῖ (1. πλέοι), which fits the traces.]σοῖ cannot be read.

18-19 παρ[α] τε ἐμ[οῦ]: a half-hearted abridgement of παρὰ τε ἐμοῦ καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων μοι πάντων (e.g. 2137 35). The superfluous τε recurs in the same phrase at 1689 37 (A.D. 266) and 103 19 (A.D. 316); PSI 880. 31 read παρὰ τε τῶν for παρὰ αὐτῶν <τῶν>.

19 ὡ[ς] καθήκει: on this formula, see J. Herrmann 150.

24 Μωριανός: neither Pape nor Preisigke records this name.

2586. CONTRACT OF APPRENTICESHIP

8.1 × 34.4 cm.

15 September, A.D. 253

A detailed and well-preserved contract, in which Hermias apprentices his son to Dioscorus the linen-weaver. Almost all its provisions are easily paralleled from the other didaskalikai: see the list and analysis by J. Herrmann, *JJP* xi-xii (1957-8), pp. 119 seqq.

There is, however, one abnormal feature. In ll. 30-34 Hermias receives 400 dr. ἐν προχρεία from Dioscorus, and promises to return them at the end of the apprenticeship. The extant didaskalikai offer no parallel to this arrangement.¹ But something similar is implied in BGU iv 1124. In this document Nilus the nail-smith acknowledges the cancellation of a synchorensis of April/May 18 B.C., under which Heraclides and Taurinus apprenticed Heraclides' son to Nilus and received a loan of 100 dr. With the cancellation Nilus receives back his money, and Heraclides is free to apprentice his son elsewhere. Here, then, as in 2586, a loan was part of the terms of the apprenticeship.

¹ In P. Mich. ii 121 R ii 8 (an obscure summary) the sum which changes hands may represent advance of wages, as, e.g., in P. Tebt. ii 385. P. Tebt. 384 and P. Flor. 44 (cited in 1647 introduction) are not apprenticeship contracts but paramonai.

The master would have security in the apprentice's labour; interest might be met by an adjustment of the apprentice's wages (2586 makes no mention of interest, and the relevant clauses of BGU 1124 are mutilated).¹

The text is written along the fibres in a minute cursive. What we have will have been the father's copy, since it bears the master's signature—a signature written half by proxy before Dioscorus plucked up courage to exercise his spindly capitals (58 seq.).

ὁμολογοῦσιν ἀλλήλοις Ἀυρή-
 λιοι Ἐρμίας υἱὸς Πτολ[εμα]ί[ου ἀγο-]
 ρανομήσαντος τῆς [᾽Ο]ξυρ[υγχειτῶν]
 πόλεως καὶ Διόσκορος Ἀθ[ηνοδώρου]
 5 ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως [λινό-]
 υφος ὁ μὲν Ἐρμίας ἐκδεδ[ός]θ[α]ι
 τῷ ἐπιστάτῃ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ υἱ[ὸν]
 πρὸς μάθησιν τῆς δηλουμέ-
 νης τέχνης ἐπὶ χρόνον ἔτη
 10 πέν[τ]ε ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντος μην[ὸ]ς Θ[ω]θ
 τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ιβ (ἔτους) [ε]φ' ᾧ παρέξεται τὸν
 παῖδα ὁ πατήρ τῷ ἐπιστάτῃ καθ' ἐ-
 15 κάστην ἡμέραν ἀπὸ ἀνα[τ]ολῆς
 ἡλίου μέχρι δύσεως τρεφόμε-
 νον καὶ ἱματιζόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ
 πατρὸς ἐκτελοῦντα πάντα τὰ ἐπιτρα-
 πησόμενα αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπιστά-
 του ἀνήκοντα τῇ δηλουμένῃ
 τέχνῃ καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν μῆνας [ε]ξ διδα-
 20 χῆς χάριν ἄνε[υ] μισθοῦ ἐπὶ δὲ
 τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον λαμβάνον-
 τα ὑπὲρ μισθοῦ τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ
 ἑξαμῆνῃ ἡμ[ε]ρησίως ὀβολοὺς
 δύο καὶ ἐπὶ ἕτερον ἑνιαυτὸν ἡ-

25 μερησίως ὀβολοὺς ἕξ καὶ ἐπὶ ἄλ-
 λον ἑνιαυτὸν ἡμερησίως ὀβο-
 λοὺς δέκα καὶ ἐπὶ ἄλλον ἑνιαυτὸν
 δραχμὰς δύο καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν τελευταί-
 30 ον ἑνιαυτὸν ἡμερησίως δραχμὰς
 δύο τετράβολον. ὁμολογεῖ δὲ ὁ αὐ-
 τὸς Ἐρμίας αὐτόθι ἐσχηκέναι ἐν
 προχρεία παρὰ τοῦ Διοσκόρου ἀργυ-
 ρί[ο]ν δραχμὰς τετρακοσίας ἄσπερ
 ἀπ[ο]δώσει ἐπὶ τέλει τοῦ χρόνου.
 35 ὦ[ν] δ' ἂν ἀργήσῃ ὁ παῖς ἐν τῷ χρό-
 νῳ ἐν ᾧ μισθὸν λαμβάνει ἢ ὁ μὴ
 εἶη ἀσθενήσῃ, τούτων τὰς ἴσας
 παραμενεῖ τῷ ἐπιστάτῃ ἐργαζό-
 40 μενος ἀμισθεί. λήμψεται δὲ ὁ παῖς
 εἰς λόγον ἀργιῶν ἑορτικῶν Τῦβι
 Παχῶν Ἀμεσυσίους ἡμερῶν
 ἑπτὰ Σαραπίους ἡμέρας δύο· εὐδο-
 κεῖν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ το(ύ)τις καὶ ἕκαστα
 45 ποιήσιν ὁ αὐτὸς ἐπιστάτης καὶ ἐπὶ
 τέλει τοῦ χρόνου παραδότω τὸν παῖδα
 τελείως ἐργαζόμενον τὴν δηλου-
 μένην τέχνην καθὼς καὶ αὐτὸς
 ἐπίσταται, οὐκ ἐξόντος οὐδενὶ τῶν
 50 ὁμολογούντων παραβαίνειν τὰ
 προγεγραμμένα. κύριον τὸ ὁμολό-
 γημα καὶ ἐπερωτήσαντες ἀλλήλους
 ὠμολόγησαν. (ἔτους) ιβ' αὐτοκράτορος
 καίσαρος Πουπλίου Δικιννίου
 Γαλλιῆνου Γερμανικοῦ μεγίστου
 55 εὐσεβοῦς εὐτυχοῦς σεβαστοῦ
 Θῶθ ιη. (2nd hd.) Ἀυρήλιος Διόσκωρο(ς)
 Ἀθηνοδώρου ἔδωκῶ ὡς
 (3rd hd.) πρόκειται καὶ ἐπερω-
 τηθὶς ὠμωλόγησα.

¹ Lewald (*Personalexekution* 18 seq.) and Taubenschlag (*Opera Minora* ii 271 seq.) take a different view. For them the synchoreisis mentioned in BGU 1124 is a paramone with obligation to teach, the apprenticeship merely accessory to the loan; they compare P. Tebt. 384, P. Flor. 44, BGU 1154. This never was a plausible interpretation. The loan-paramone has a quite different pattern: the loan is acknowledged first, then comes the special arrangement about interest—the borrower or his dependent is to work for the creditor ἀντὶ τῶν τούτων τόκων καὶ προφῆς κ.τ.λ.; nothing is said about teaching. On the other hand, there seems no reason *a priori* why the advantages of an apprenticeship should not include a loan. And 2586 now shows conclusively that such a clause is not out of place in a didaskalike.

20 -χης: η corrected (from α or αι?)
59 -τηθίς: θ corr. from τ

28 τελευταί: αι corr. from ο

57 Ι. εὐδοκῶ

'Aurelius Hermias, son of Ptolemaeus a former *agoranomus* of the city of Oxyrhynchus, and Aurelius Dioscorus, son of Athenodorus, from the same city, a linen-weaver, acknowledge to one another:

'Hermias, that he has handed over his son to the overseer to learn the said craft for a period of five years from the present month Thoth of the current 12th year; for which period the father shall make the boy available to the overseer each day from sunrise to sunset, the boy being maintained and clothed by his father, carrying out all the instructions pertaining to the said craft which the overseer shall give him, and going without wages for six months in return for tuition, but for the remaining time receiving as wages—in the first six months two obols a day, and for another year, six obols a day, and for another year ten obols a day, and for another year two drachmae, and for the final year 2 drachmae 4 obols a day.

'And the same Hermias acknowledges that he has received on the spot as a loan-in-advance from Dioscorus four hundred drachmae of silver, which he will return at the end of the time.

'And if the boy is idle on any days during the time that he is receiving wages, or (may it not happen) is ill, he shall stay with the overseer for the same number of days, working without wages.

'And the boy shall have, on account of festival holidays, Tybi, Pachon, seven days at the Amesysia, two days at the Serapeia.

'For they agree on these terms; and the overseer aforesaid will carry out all the provisions; and at the end of the time let him hand over the boy a perfect worker in the said craft, just as able as the overseer himself. It is permitted to none of the acknowledging parties to transgress the above-stated terms. The acknowledgement is valid, and we have put the question to one another and made acknowledgement. Year 12 of Emperor Caesar Publius Licinius Gallienus Germanicus Maximus Pius Felix Augustus, Thoth 18.

'(2nd hd.) I, Aurelius Dioscorus, son of Athenodorus, agree as (3rd hd.) stated above; and, the question being put, I have made acknowledgement.'

5-6 [λινδ]υφος: this restoration seems far the most likely, though theoretically there are other possibilities (Buck and Petersen, *Reverse Index* 407). For the spelling, required here by the rules of syllable-division, see *Aeg.* xxvi (1946), pp. 16 seq. There survives only one other apprenticeship to this trade: P. Fouad 37 (A.D. 48).¹ None the less, linen was among the most important Egyptian exports: *nam cum (Gallieno) nuntiatum esset Aegyptum descivisse, dixisse fertur 'quid? sine lino Aegyptio esse non possumus!'* (SHA Gall. 6. 4). See P. Giss. I ii, p. 39.

7 ἐπιστάτη: the word occurs five times in this document; all other such contracts use διδάκκαλος. Dr. John Rea suggests that the difference is more than one of terminology—the epistates will have been a more important person than those who usually figure in apprentice-contracts.

10 πέντε: a long term, paralleled only in 725 and in P. Mich. 121 R ii 8.

11 [ἐ]φ' ᾧ: as at 1647 16 and BGU iv 1021, 11. [ἐ]φ' ᾧ would be more usual, but the spacing is against it.

14 seqq. No mention is made of taxes or trade-dues (1647, introduction; Herrmann 127 seq.).

19 seqq. Wages increase in steps of 4 obols. The yearly totals are: A.D. 253/4 (six months only), 60 dr.; 254/5, 360 dr.; 255/6, 600 dr.; 256/7, 720 dr.; 257/8, 960 dr. Rising scales appear in other contracts (Herrmann 123), but there are too many unknown to make comparison safe. It may be worth noting the yearly cash payment which at this time Aurelius Apianus was making to his phrontistai Irenaeus and Heroninus—480 dr. (P. Lond. 1226; P. Flor. 321-2; SB 9408-9).

36-37 δ μὴ εἶη: I owe the reading to Dr. Rea.

39 seqq. Holidays are specified in three other contracts: P. Fouad 37 (A.D. 48) offers 36 days a year; 725 (183) 20 days; and 1647 (late 2nd cent.) 18 days. The master no doubt kept a record of licensed and unlicensed idleness: such an account seems to have survived in the 'Heidelberg Festival Papyrus' (Youtie, *Studies . . . A. C. Johnson* 201 seqq.).

40 seqq. On the Serapeia, see Bilabel, *Die gräko-ägyptische Feste* 49; on the Amesysia, Bilabel

¹ Cf. P. Ryl. iv 654.

ib. 29 and Eitrem, *Symb. Osl.* xvii 44 seqq. (add P. Iand. 95, 14, SB 9409, no. 7 iii 56). There are difficulties in the interpretation of this clause:

(1) 'Holidays on festivals in Tybi and Pachon, (namely) at the Amesysia and at the Serapeia.' This might mean that there were Amesysia and Serapeia in both Tybi and Pachon; or that Amesysia fell in Tybi and Serapeia in Pachon. Other attested dates for these festivals are inconsistent and unhelpful. *Amesysia.* (a) SB 3462 (A.D. 154/5) Thoth 6 Egyptian = Alexandrian Epeiph 27; (b) P. Flor. ii 131 (A.D. 257, Fayûm) Heroninus is taking thought for the Amesysia about Pauni 12 (cf. SB 9409?); (c) P. Ross.-Georg. ii 41 (2nd cent.) Amesysia is the last festival mentioned before Phaophi 4. A single dating might be deduced from these three sources, but it would certainly not accord with the data of 2586.¹ *Serapeia.* (a) BGU 362 xii 16 (A.D. 215, Fayûm) records a [ετ]έμης Σεραπειῶν on Pharmouthi 30;² (b) *SPP* xxii 183, 72 and 111 seq. (Ant. Pius, Soknopaiou Nesos) Serapeia begin on Choiak 26 and last for perhaps eight days. These celebrations might spill over into Pachon and Tybi! But there are too many unknowns for a real solution of the difficulty.

(2) 'Holidays consisting of Tybi and Pachon and seven days at the Amesysia and two at the Serapeia.' This is Dr. Rea's suggestion: he points out that the long holiday would be of a piece with the high wages and the unusual standing of both apprentice (grandson of an Agoranomos) and master (*epistates*); *ἐορτικῶν* would be used loosely, unless indeed it is to be taken separately from *ἀργιῶν*. This view avoids the difficulties of (1), and should probably be preferred.

2587. REPAYMENT OF A LOAN

10 × 16 cm.

17 September, A.D. 289

This document is a receipt for partial repayment of a loan. It is interesting that the loan is said to be one of a thousand drachmae 'of Ptolemaic coinage', while the amount repaid is one thousand drachmae 'of new coinage'. This 'Ptolemaic' coinage is probably the same as the *παλαιῶ Πτολεμαϊκοῦ νομίσματος* appearing in six other late-third-century documents, see Johnson and West, *Currency*, p. 68 and SB 5151. (The papyrus referred to by Johnson and West as Mitt.P.E.R. iv, p. 146 has since been published in full as P. Vind. Boswinkel 12.) There are four papyri of about the same date which refer to *παλαιῶ (νομίσματος)* (P. Berl. Möller 1 (= SB 7338), P. Grenf. ii 77, P. Ant. 43, 1773) and one referring to (*δραχμὰς*) π' *παλαιὰς* (P. Strassb. 233, 7). It seems probable that these expressions all mean the same thing.

These expressions are generally thought to show a preference for payments in actual old coin caused by the rapid progress of inflation in the late third century. But in this case it is clear that the expression has some conventional meaning since the debt is not repaid in the coin that was originally specified. By way of explanation I suggest that some old coin, which still retained a value as bullion, was adopted as a standard so that no loss would be incurred by a business-man who put his capital into a transaction that covered a period of time. That is, in the case of an interest-free loan, a man could lend current money equivalent to a certain number of 'Ptolemaic'

¹ It is always possible that a given festival occurred three times a year, in the first month of each of the Egyptian seasons, i.e. Thoth, Tybi, and Pachon: cf. P. Petrie iii 134, 4-5.

² Cf. P. Tebt. 119 iii 23 seqq. Ancient calendars agree on April, and specifically 25 Apr. (Wilcken, *Hermes* xx 475); and *IG* xii 5, 38 attests Serapeia in Artemision for Amorgos in the 1st cent. B.C. (Robert, *REG* xlii (1929), pp. 20 seqq.).

drachmae on condition that the debtor repaid the value of the same amount of this coinage at the rate current at the time of the repayment. If the value of the new tetradrachm fell, more of them would have to be paid back at the end of the term.¹

This would explain satisfactorily why the expressions are used in loan contracts (2587, P. Lond. 1243, P. Vind. Bosw. 12), and in claims for money not likely to be met immediately (P. Berl. Möller 1, P. Grenf. ii 77). In P. Ryl. 165, *SPP* xx 71, and SB 5151 the payments are to be made through banks and therefore may possibly have been subject to delay. In P. Ant. 43 it is not clear whether the transaction is by credit or not. But in 1773, P. Strassb. 233, and *SPP* xx 72 direct payments of 'old' or 'Ptolemaic' coinage seem to be specified and if the coins were used as an exchange standard it follows that the bankers must have been familiar enough with them to have a constantly revised exchange rate for them.

Unfortunately there is still no evidence to show what coinage is meant by the vague term 'Ptolemaic'. Mickwitz's theory (*Geld und Wirtschaft*, pp. 53/54) is that it means 'coins of the Ptolemaic type, i.e. older billon tetradrachms' and he was driven to propound it because he could not believe in the large circulation of Ptolemaic coins which the documents otherwise imply for the late third century. On the theory suggested here of a rarer use of the coins and a more widespread use of the term as a fictional standard, this argument is less cogent, and there have been, in fact, sporadic finds of Ptolemaic coins in hoards of the third century (v. Milne, 'The Currency of Egypt under the Romans', *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, vol. vii, p. 60 and n. 1). Before Mickwitz it was generally believed that it meant actual Ptolemaic coins, but Ptolemaic coins—like the Roman ones—varied greatly in silver content and if the standard really was a matter of bullion we should expect to find that 'Ptolemaic' means something quite precise—some particular issue or group of issues.

If this theory is correct one might have expected the receipt to say how many 'Ptolemaic' drachmae were deemed to have been repaid by 1,000 new drachmae and how many remained to be paid off at a future date and rate. There may perhaps have been a cancellation of the original loan contract and a new note given by the debtor. Or, if records of the exchange rate were kept, the date on the receipt may have been sufficient guarantee.

¹ See now A. Segrè in *Chron. d'Ég.* xl, no. 79 (Jan. 1965) pp. 204 seqq.

Αὐρήλι[ο]ς Πολυδεύκης Ὀρίωνος
 Ἀντινοεύς, φυλῆς Παυλινίου τοῦ
 καὶ Μεγαλιζίου Αὐρηλίου Ἑρμεία . . . τ' ὄ'
 . . . ντους ἀπὸ [τ]ῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως χείρειν·
 5 ὁμολογῶ ἀπεσχηκέναι παρά σου ἀφ' ὧν
 μοι ὀφείλει ε' ἀργυρίου Πτολεμαϊκοῦ
 νομίσματος δραχμῶν χειλίων
 καὶ [ο]ῦ νομίσματος δραχμᾶς χειλίας·
 κυρία ἢ ἀποχὴ ἀπλή γραφεῖσα καὶ ἐπερω-
 10 τηθεὶς ὑπὸ σου ὁμολόγησα·
 (ἔτους) 5' Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ (ἔτους) 6'
 Μαξιμιανῶν Σεβαστῶν· Θὼθ κ'·
 (2nd hd.) Αὐρήλιος Πολυδεύ-
 κης Ὀρίωνος ἔσχον
 15 τὰς τοῦ καινοῦ δρα-
 χμᾶς χειλίας·

'Aurelius Polydeuces, son of Horion, Antinoite of the tribe Paulinios and the deme Megalisios, to Aurelius Herm . . . , son of . . . of the same city, greeting. I declare that I have received from you, out of the thousand drachmae of silver of Ptolemaic coinage that you owe me, a thousand drachmae of new coinage. The receipt, of which there is a single copy, is valid and in answer to the formal question put by you I have given my assent. In the sixth year of Diocletian and the fifth year of Maximian, Augusti, on the twentieth of Thoth.

(2nd hd.) I, Aurelius Polydeuces, son of Horion, have received the thousand drachmae of the new (coinage).'

³ The difficulty over the reading of the patronymic obstructs the articulation; Ἑρμεί (Ἑρμείος), Ἑρμεία?

2588-2591. SITOLOGI DOCUMENTS

It was common practice for individuals to maintain private deposits at the state granaries. They made payments from such accounts by issuing an order-to-pay: 'to the sitologi: pay to X . . .'. 2588-2590 are orders of this kind. The sitologi made the required transfer to the account of the payee, who then received a notice of credit: 'paid to X, through the sitologi, . . .'. 2591 1-11 is a notice of this kind. (See in general Preisigke, *Griowesen* 119 seqq.) Both forms of document could become negotiable instruments, if endorsed by the payee with his signature and a further order to pay. Thus 2591 was endorsed by the payee Sarapion in favour of Heraclides (12-15) and again by Heraclides in favour of Zoilus (16-18). These successive endorsements required no further recourse to the office of the sitologi: the documents circulated freely and so functioned almost as a paper currency.

2588, order for payment in grain. 7.3×17.4 cm. 24 September, A.D. 148. The writing is excessively crabbed and irregular (no doubt the steward's own hand: in the absence of signature or seal, the script of the order was the only guarantee of its authenticity). With this and the next two documents, cf. **88**; **516**; **619-32**; **973**; P. Lips. 114-15; P. Strasb. 127.

Διογένης τῶν ἡγ(ο)ρα-
νομηκότων καὶ γυ-
μνασιαρχηκότων
δι' Ἑρμίου οἰκονόμου
5 σιτολόγοις ἄνω τοπαρ-
χίας Σκῶ τῶ[π]ων· δια-
τίλαται ἀφ' ὧν ἔχεται
μου ἐν θέματι πυροῦ
γενήματος ια (ἔτους) Ἀντωνίου
10 καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου Θῶνις
Θῶνις τοῦ Θωνοῦ ἀπ' Ὁξυ(ρύγχων πόλεως)
(πυροῦ) (ἀρτ.) ιβ, γί(νονται) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτ.) δέκα ἐν-
νέα ἡμυς. (ἔτους) ιβ
Ἀντωνίου τοῦ κυρίου
15 Θῶθ κζ.

6-7 l. διατείλατε 7 l. ἔχετε 8 l. πυροῦ 10-11 l. Θῶνις Θῶνιος τοῦ Θ 11 ἀποξυ
Youtie 13. l. ἡμυς

'Diogenes, former agoranomus and former gymnasiarch, by Hermias his steward, to the sitologi of the upper toparchy, Sko district. Transfer to Thonis, son of Thonis and grandson of Thonsius, of Oxyrhynchus, 19½ artabae of wheat (making nineteen and a half artabae of wheat) out of those you hold in deposit for me from the wheat-crop of the 11th year of Antoninus Caesar the lord. Year 12 of Antoninus the lord, Thoth 27.'

2589. Order for payment in grain. 11.3×12 cm. (lower margin 6 cm.). 8 December, A.D. 159. **2589-91** are of about the same date, and all three involve the sitologi of Monimou.

᾿Ωρίων Ἀρ[.][.]. . . ις σι[τολόγ]οις ἄνω τοπαρχ(ίας)
Μονίμου τόπων [χ]αίριον· [δια]τείλατε
ἄς ἔχετε μου ἐν θέματι πυροῦ γενήμ(ατος)
τοῦ κβ (ἔτους) Ἀντωνίου καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου
5 Ἑρακλίδους [.] . . υ ἀρτάβας δέκα ὀκτώ
γί(νονται) (ἀρτ.) ιη. (ἔτους) κγ Ἀντωνίου καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου
μηρὸς Ἀδριανοῦ ια.
(2nd hd.) Α̅ . . . σεσημ(είωμαι)

5 l. Ἑρακλείδη. Perhaps π[οι]ροῦ. δεκα: δ written over ι (= 10) 7 |ι̅

'Horion . . . to the sitologi of the upper toparchy, Monimou district, greetings. Transfer to Heraclides the eighteen artabae (making 18 art.) which you hold in deposit for me from the wheat-crop of the 22nd year of Antoninus Caesar the lord. Year 23 of Antoninus Caesar the lord, 11th of the month Hadrianus. (2nd hd.) I, . . ., have signed it.'

5 [.] . . υ: possibly π[οι]ροῦ. But, as Mrs. Youtie points out, we expect a patronymic—perhaps the same as in **2591** 13 seq.

2590. Order for payment in grain. 6.8×21.1 cm. (lower margin 6 cm.). 8 December, A.D. 159 (the same date as the preceding document).

Ἑρακλείδης Ἑρακλείδου ἀπ' Ὁξυ(ρύγχων) π[όλ(εως)]
σιτολόγοις ἄνω τοπ(αρχίας) Μον[ι]μ(ου) τόπ(ων) χαίρειν·
διατείλατε ἄς ἔχετε
μου ἐν θέματι (πυροῦ) γενήμ(ατος)
5 τοῦ διελ(θόντος) κβ (ἔτους) Ἀντωνίου
καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου
Θέωνι Θεώνος καὶ [.] . .
Πετρωνίου π[υ]ροῦ ἀρτά[β(α)]
πεντήκοντα γείνονται
10 πυροῦ ἄρταβ(αι) πεντ[ήκ]οντ(α).
(ἔτους) κγ αὐτοκράτ[ο]ρος
καίσαρος Τίτου Αἰλίου
Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀντωνίου
σεβαστοῦ εὐσεβοῦς
15 μη[ν]ος Ἀδριανοῦ ια.

7 [.] . . : the first letter perhaps ω; over the last letter an abbreviation stroke.

'Heraclides son of Heraclides, of the city of Oxyrhynchus, to the sitologi of the upper toparchy, Monimou district, greetings. Transfer to Theon son of Theon, and to . . . Petronius, the fifty artabae of wheat (making fifty artabae of wheat) which you hold in deposit for me from the wheat-crop of the past 22nd year of Antoninus Caesar the lord. Year 23 of Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, 11th of the month Hadrianus.'

2591. Notice of credit and orders for payment in grain. 7.9 × 18.9 cm. A.D. 158/9. With ll. 1-11 cf. 613-18; 1539-40. I am more than usually indebted to Professor Youtie for help in reading this rapid and much-abbreviated text.

- διεστάλ(ησαν) (πυροῦ) γενή(ματος) κβ (ἔτους) Ἄντωνίνου
καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου δι(ὰ) ci(τολόγων)
λιβός τοπ(αρχίας) Πέλ(α) τόπ(ων) Σαραπ(ίων)
Μνησιθέου ἄρτ(αβαι) τέσσαρες
5 τέταρτον χοί(νικες) ἕξ, (γίνονται) (ἄρτ.) δδ χοί(νικες) σ.
οἱ γενήματ(ος) τοῦ α(ὐτοῦ)
καὶ δι(ὰ) ci(τολόγων) Μονίμ(ου) Μνησιθεῖ Διογέγγου
δι(ὰ) τ(οῦ) παι(δός) Σαραπ(ίωνος) . . . ἄρτ(αβαι) δέκα
μίαν ἡμικυ, (γίνονται) (ἄρτ.) ια L.
10 οἱ γενήματ(ος) τοῦ α(ὐτοῦ) ἄλ(λαι) τοῦ α(ὐτοῦ)
χοί(νικες) τέσσαρες, (γίνονται) ἐπ(ὶ τὸ αὐτὸ) (ἄρτ.) ις.
(2nd hd.) Σαραπίων ὁ προγεγραμμένος.
διάστειλον Ἡρακλείδῃ Επ-
θου τὰς προκ(ειμένας) ὑπὲρ προχρί-
15 ας Cκὼ τόπ(ων) (ἄρτ.) ις.
* (3rd hd.) Ἡρακλείδης ὁ προγεγραμμένος. διάστειλ(ον)
Ζωίλῳ Σαραπ() τὰς προκειμ(έναι)
ἄρτάβ(ας) δέκα ἕξ.

7 Perhaps Μνησιθῆ 8 πυρ(οῦ) ἄρτ(αβαι) not suggested.

*Transferred, of the wheat-crop of the 22nd year of Antoninus Caesar the lord, through the sitologi of the west toparchy, Pela district, to Sarapion son of Mnesitheus: four and a quarter artabae and six choinikes (making 4½ art. 6 choin.). Of which same crop of the same year, through the sitologi of Monimou, to Mnesitheus son of Diogenes, by his son Sarapion: eleven and a half artabae (making 11½ art.). Of which crop of the same year, another four choinikes of the same: making 16 art. in all. (2nd hd.) Sarapion the aforesaid. Transfer to Heraclides son of . . . the above-mentioned 16 art., in respect of an advance-loan in the Sko district. (3rd hd.) Heraclides the aforesaid. Transfer to Zoilus son of Sarap . . . the above-mentioned sixteen artabae.

PRIVATE LETTERS

2592. INVITATION

5.6 × 4.2 cm.

Later first or second century

An invitation to the *kline* of Serapis, written along the fibres in a small fluent cursive. For the parallel texts, all of the second and third centuries, see Eitrem and Amundsen, P. Oslo iii, pp. 246 seqq.; Youtie, *HTR* xli (1948), pp. 13 seqq.

ἔρωτᾶ σε Νεῖλος δειπνήσαι
εἰς κλείνην τοῦ κυρίου Σαραπίδος
ἐν τῷ Σαραπίῳ τῆ ἰ ἀπὸ ὠρ(ας) θ̄

'Nilus invites you to dine at a banquet of the lord Serapis, in the Serapeum, on the 10th at the 9th hour.'

3 Perhaps ὠρα(ς). θ̄: the trace excludes ζ (e.g. 1485) and η (e.g. 1486-7).

2593. LETTER OF APOLLONIA

10.4 × 21.1 cm.

Second century

Apollonia has been collecting woollen yarn for Heraclides: in this letter she presents a systematic account of her expenditure—the amounts of wool and warp; the price of the warp, which was bought ready-spun; and, for the wool, the price of raw wool and the expenses of spinning. Spinning and weaving are common enough topics in private letters (for example, in SB 1974; P. Giss. 12; P. Berl. Zill. 9). But Apollonia's letter is much more detailed and technical than these others, and accordingly offers some obscurities. For the technicalities of spinning, see Blümner, *Technologie* i 108 seqq.; Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology* iv 149 seqq. On spinning in the papyri, see S. Calderini, *Aeg.* xxvi (1946), pp. 40, 44 seqq.; Kalleres, *Αἱ Πρῶται Ὑλαὶ τῆς Ὑφαντουργίας*.

The writing runs parallel with the fibres on the recto. The hand is square and neat, informal but not cursive: *Pap. Gr. Ber.* 31 shows the same style more carefully written.

Ἀπολλωνία Φ[ε]ιλῆτι χαίρειν.
 ἀσπάζομαι σε λείαν καὶ Ἑρακλείδην,
 ἔπεμψα δέ σοι διὰ Ὀννώφριος νε(ωτέρου)
 τὰ κύνεργα τῆς στολῆς τοῦ Ἑρακλείδ(ου)
 5 κρόκης μναὶ ζ̄ ἐξ ὀλκῆς στατῆ-
 ρε[ς .]. αἷ εἰς[ι] κύρινγες ρ̄ι καὶ
 στήμων ἀπὸ Λύκων πόλεως
 ὀλκῆς στατῆρες ϖ̄ αἷ εἰς σφαιρεία
 ὀε· ὦν ἡ τιμὴ τοῦ στήμονος ἐκ δρα-
 10 χμῶν εἴκοσι ἐνὸς τῶν λ στα-
 τῆρων ὀλκῆς, γίνονται (δρ.) ξγ̄, ἡ δὲ
 τιμὴ τῶν ἐρεῶν τῆς κρόκης (δρ.) λς.
 κατέφθακε εἰς τὸ κλῶσαι ὀλκῆς
 στατῆρες λ̄ τοῦ στατῆρος καὶ ἐγὼ
 15 ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου μου ὀλκῆς στατῆρες
 ἰ ἐρίου ἔδωκα εἰς δαπάνην τοῦ
 καταρτισμοῦ (δρ.) δ. ἐκδέδωκα γε-
 νέσθαι κλωσθῆναι τρεῖς μνᾱς
 ἐξ ὀβολοῦ τοῦ στατῆρος ὀλκῆς,
 20 γίνονται (δρ.) ιζ̄ (πεντώβολον) καὶ ἐγὼ τὰ ἄλλα
 τέσσαρες μναὶ ἔκλωσα καὶ βέβλη-
 κα εἰς αὐτὰ σπάρτον χρωμάτινον
 μελανὸν καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν βάλε εἰς τὸν
 ἀβόλλην τῆς στολῆς τρεῖς μνᾱς.
 25 ἀσπαζόμεθά σε λείαν. ἔρρωσο.
 ὁ δὲ στήμων παρ' ἐμοὶ βέβρεκται.

(2nd hd.) (ἔτους) [. . . .] Θώθ.

(Verso) ἀπόδος Φιλῆτι ὥστε Ἑρακλείδην.

3 $\bar{\nu}$ 4 ηρακλεῖ^δ 8 l. σφαιρεία 17 (δρ.) δ: δ has no suprascript stroke 19 οβολου:
 β corr. from λ 21 εκλωσα: κ corr. from γ 22 αυτα' 26 l. βέβρεχται (cf. Mayser 1², 2, 172)

'Apollonia to Philetus, greetings. I send my very best wishes to you and Heraclides, and I have dispatched to you by Onnophris the younger the materials for Heraclides' outfit: 7 minae of woof, weighing . . . staters, that is 110 reels; and warp from Lycopolis weighing 90 staters, that is 75 balls. The cost of this: for the warp, at twenty-one drachmae per 30 staters weight, in all 63 dr.; and the

price of the wool for the woof, 36 dr. 30 staters weight has already been spun for one stater, and I gave 10 staters weight of wool of my own towards the cost of the preparation, 4 dr. I sent out three minae to be spun, at an obol per stater weight, in all 17 dr. 5 ob., and I myself spun the other four minae and put into them a coloured black thread—put three minae of these into the cloak of the outfit. We send our very best wishes to you. Goodbye. The warp has been soaked here with me. (2nd hd.) Year . . . Thoth.

(Verso) 'Deliver to Philetus for Heraclides.'

2 ἀσπάζομαι: the initial greeting occurs only in letters of the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th cent. (Koskenniemi, *Studien z. Idee u. Phraseologie* 149).

4 κύνεργα: cf. 1069 8, 12; 1159 15; P. Mich. 216, 22; 218, 11. The meaning is 'materials' (Ljungvik, *Eranos* 27, 169, n. 3), and in particular 'yarn for weaving'. The narrower sense fits all the occurrences in papyri: cf. Artem. *Περὶ Ὀνείρων* 3, 36 κύνεργα . . . τὰ εἰς ὑφήν ἱστοῦ παρασκευαζόμενα κ.τ.λ. (The article in LSJ is quite wrong.)

5 seqq. In *La Parola del Passato* xiv (1959), p. 142 Bresciani publishes a 12-stater weight from Roman Egypt. He estimates its original weight as 170 gr. On this standard, Apollonia bought about 7·8 lb. of woof and 2·8 lb. of warp.

6 κύρινγες are presumably hollow tubes on which the yarn was wound, the κάλαμοι στήμων of P. Tebt. ii 413, 11–12 (despite Kalleres 170, n. 3). I find no other reference for this use, nor for σφαιρίον (l. 8) as a 'ball of wool'. See Kalleres 167 seqq.

10 seqq. Johnson, *Economic Survey* ii 320 seqq., quotes other wool prices.

13 κατέφθακε: καταφθάνω appears at 1482 10 and 18, and at BGU 665 ii 14, but each time in an obscure context. I take the general sense to be 'there has already been spun', not 'there has already been spent on the spinning': this second interpretation, though it suits ll. 15–17, leaves no construction for τοῦ στατῆρος.

14 στατῆρες λ: how do these fit in the account? Prima facie the 7 minae of woof (l. 5) are all accounted for in ll. 18 and 21.

τοῦ στατῆρος: Youtie recognized this as a genitive of rate: cf. SB 9025, 12, 15. The stater is here a coin, not a weight, as the omission of ὀλκῆς shows.

17–18 γενέσθαι κλωσθῆναι: 'to get to be spun'? The impersonal γίνεται + infinitive (Mayser 2, 1, 307; Blass–Debrunner, *NT Gramm.* § 393, 5) makes no real parallel to the construction here. Youtie suggests that the two infinitives are alternatives: the writer added the more explicit κλωσθῆναι and forgot to delete γενέσθαι.

19–20 The calculation, if exact, would imply a mina of 35½ staters. The ἄσπάρτος μνᾱ is known from P. Cairo Zeno 59851 (a) 2–3 and 19; cf. Hultsch, *Metz. Script. Rel.*, index s.v. μνᾱ (7) and (10). (This assumes a drachma of 6 obols. A drachma of 7 or 7½ obols is equally possible, but the corresponding values of the mina—41½ staters, 42½ staters—approximate to no known standard.)

24 ἀβόλλην: a thick woollen cloak, often mentioned in literature (Mayor on Juvenal iii 115) and in the papyri (*Aeg.* xxi (1943), pp. 106 seqq). See L. M. Wilson, *The Clothing of the Ancient Romans* 84–86. The *Periplus Maris Erythraei* 6 mentions ἱμάτια βαρβαρικὰ ἄγραφα τὰ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ γινόμενα, Ἀρκεινοῦτικαὶ στολαὶ καὶ ἀβόλλαι νόθοι χρωμάτινοι.

26 βέβρεκται: the warp would be dipped in hot water before it was put on the loom: Kalleres 168 (cf. Calderini 39 seqq.).

2594. LETTER

9.4 × 2.3 cm.

Second century

A letter of remonstrance, complete except for the first line. The writing, parallel with the fibres, is a large clumsy cursive very like that of Apion's celebrated letter from Misenum (Schubart, *Pař. Gr. Ber.* 28). On the verso stand two blotted lines, of which the first might be read ἀπόδος.

[
 τῶι ἀδελ(φῶ) χαίρειν.
 καὶ κατ' ὄψιν σοι ἐνε-
 τελάμην περὶ παιδι-
 κῶν ἐν δὲ δοκεῖς με
 5 ἄλλως περὶ σοῦ φρονεῖν
 καὶ οὐ φιλῶν σε συν-
 βούλευον, ἐμοῦ πα-
 θόντος ἀπ' αὐτῶν. ἄλ(λ)
 ὃ τι ἔπραξας γένοιτο
 10 ἐπὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος.
 περὶ ὧν βούλει γρά-
 φε μοι. ἀσπάζεται σε
 τὰ ἀβάσκαντά σου παι-
 δία καὶ ἡ ἀδελφή σου
 15 καὶ οἱ φίλοι πάντες.
 ἄσπασαι Θαῆσιν.
 ἐρρῶσθ(αι) εὐχ(ομαι).

'... to... his brother, greetings. When I saw you, too, I told you what to do about the maids, but you think that I have other feelings about you and was not advising you as a friend, although I have suffered from them. Well, may what you have done turn out to your advantage. Write to me about your wishes. Your children, whom the evil eye shall not touch, and your sister and all your friends send you their best wishes. Give my best wishes to Thaesis. I pray for your health.'

3-4 παιδικῶν: servants, but not necessarily slaves: see Bauer, *NT Wb.* s.v. παιδική; P. Hib. ii 207, 16, note. παιδικῶν ('sons') seems less likely.

6-7 The sense is clear, the construction obscure. It seems simplest to assume an anacoluthon and take συνβουλεον as an imperfect: for the omission of the augment, cf. Mayser, *Grammatik* 12, 2, 98; Kapsomenakis, *Voruntersuchungen* 27, n. 1.

7-8 On this common form of genitive absolute, see Mayser 2, 3, 68; Ghedini, *Aeg.* xv (1935), p. 230.

2595. LETTER OF HORIGENES

12.2 × 13.2 cm.

Third century

Horigenes invites Serenus to join him, and incidentally (6-7) gives an interesting glimpse of nome particularism. The text is written along the fibres: the main hand belongs to the second or third century, and the cursive subscription, with its large bipartite ε, points definitely to the third.

ᾠριγένης Σερήνωι τῶ ἀδελφῶι
 χαίρειν.
 γινώσκειν σε θέλω ὅτι τὸ προσκύνημά σου <ποιῶ>
 καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν παρὰ τοῖς ἐνθαδε θ[ε]-
 5 οῖς. καλῶς ποιήσεις ἐλθὼν πρὸς ἡμᾶς πρὸς
 ὀλίγας ἡμέρας. καὶ γὰρ πολλοὶ Ὁξυρυγχι-
 ται ἔνουσι ἐνθαδε. μέμφομε δέ σε ὅτι οὐ-
 πω μοι ἀντέγραψας. ἀσπάζου τὸν ἐπιστάτην
 καὶ Σαραπάμμωνα τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ τῆν
 10 δέσκαλον καὶ τοὺς ἐν οἴκῳ πάντας.
 (2nd hd.) ἐρρῶσθαι σε εὐχομαι, ἀδελφε.
 (verso) ἀπόδος Σερήνωι X ἀργυροκόπῳ
 X

1 Σερήνωι: η corr. from ω; ω corr. from ι 6 l. Ὁξυρυγχι- 7 l. μέμφομαι 8 ἀσπάζου:
 ε is a correction 10 δέσκαλον: ε corr. from λ; λ corr. from τ (γ?) 11 ἐρρῶσθαι: first ρ
 rewritten; α corr. from ι

'Horigenes to Serenus his brother, greeting. I want you to know that I make obeisance for you every day to the gods here. You will do well to come to us for a few days, for there are many Oxyrhynchites here. I blame you for not answering my letter yet. Give my best wishes to the overseer and your brother Sarapammon and the governess and the whole household. (2nd hd.) I pray for your health, brother.

(Verso) 'Deliver to Serenus the silversmith.'

3 <ποιῶ>: see the examples of the formula collected by Exler, *A Study in Greek Epistolography* 108-10.

5-6 πρὸς ὀλίγας ἡμέρας: 'for the space of a few days': Kapsomenos, *Ἐρευναι* . . . , 1st ser., 356.

7 ἔνουσι: the form recurs in a much less literate letter, P. Abinn. 31, 15: is it a plural to ἐνι (ενῖ, ἐνεῖ)? or merely a slip? (The letters might equally represent ἐνοῦσι, but I find no example of ἐνοῦν or even ἐνοῦσθαι in the required sense ('come together'), whether in ancient or in modern Greek.)

10 δέσκαλον: see P. Mich. viii 464, 10, note. This shortening of διδέσκαλος illustrates the process which has left Modern Greek without reduplications: Jannaris, *Historical Greek Grammar* § 737.

2596. LETTER FROM SARAPAMMON TO ANDRONICUS

15 × 17 cm.

Third century

The writing, in spite of its coarse strokes and cursive forms, has few ligatures and is easily legible. It resembles P. Mich. viii 514 (Pl. VIII), which is attributed to the third century. In the main body of the text it runs across the fibres. The end of the letter was written downwards along the left-hand margin and on the back there is an address.

Σαραπάμμων Ἀνδρονίκος ἀδελφῶ

πολλά χαίρειν·

ἐκοιμάμην σου γράμματα διὰ Ψαιεῖς ἔγν'ω(ν)

καὶ ὀλοκληροῦντα μετὰ τῶν ἡμῶν παντες·

5 ἐκοιμάμην δὲ παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ψαιεῖς τὸ σφν-

ρίδιον ἔχων ταρίχους ε̄⁻ καὶ καθαροὺς δ̄⁻ καὶ μυ-

ράφιον <καὶ> χαρτάρια β̄⁻ κόμιμον οὖν παρὰ τοῦ αὐ-

τοῦ Ψαιεῖς οἷ'νου' προπαλεου χρηστοῦ ὄ' βωξίον ἄ⁻ μετὰ

ἀξίωσιν τοῦ πατρός μου Λαμνστοῦ πολλά

10 μοι βαρήσει[ε] περὶ τῶν τρι[ε]

ζικ ὅτι ὀκνήσω πέμπω σοι[...].

σω ὅτι οὐχ εὔρηκα τογαπ̄. . . ωσι[...].

ψά σοι καὶ ἄπαξ καὶ δις περὶ τούτου[υ] .

ενα [.] καμηλάτην παρ'ά' σοι καὶ α. . .

15 μοι. . . α. α. . .

νον γ̄⁻ ἀλλ[.]

κεκμηκαμ[.]

. νην καὶ ἀπο[.]

γράμμιον τ' ὦ' πατρί .

20 ταχα δύννη[.]

ἐορτήν πεμψο[.]

Left margin

πολλά προσαγ[ό]ρευε μετὰ καὶ τῶν ἡμῶν[.] ν πάντω(ν)

ἐρρω[.....]. [.] ε̄. [.]

Back

[.] αι Ἀνδρονίκος [.]

1 Ἀνδρονίκω 4 σε, πάντων 6 ἔχον 8 προπαλαίου 10 βαρήσεις 22 παντῶ⁻

'Sarapammon to Andronicus his brother many greetings. I received your letter by Psais. I learned that you and all our friends are well. And I received from the same Psais the basket

containing 5 salt fish and 4 fine loaves and a small quantity of unguent (and) two pieces of papyrus. Receive from the same Psais one vessel of wine, very old and good, at the request of my father Lamystes (?). You will often trouble me about that I shall hesitate. I (shall?) send you . . . that I have not found the . . . I wrote you once and again a second time about this . . . one camel-driver with () you and . . . 3 . . . I have made great efforts (?) . . . write to my (?) father . . . feast. Send. . . .

'Greet . . . and all our friends many times. . . .'

3 Ψαιεῖς indeclinable here, = Ψάικ, Ψάϊτος. εγ̄^π pap. for lack of room.

6 μυράφιον once only in Arr. Epictet. 4, 9, 7.

8 βωξίον: presumably the same word as βωκίον, see *SPP* xx 67, 35 β. χαλκ(οῦν) μικ(ρόν) and *PGM* i 4, 752, where it is corrected to βηκίον, which occurs in Hesychius and also in the papyri, P. Lond. cxxi, col. 27b l. 4 (see Pl. 64), P. Holm. 16, 3. Cf. βωαδιαί (also of bronze) SB 1160, 4, 7.

9 μετὰ ἀξίωσιν: I have not found this collocation elsewhere; instead of 'request', which is the commonest meaning in the papyri, 'according to the opinion of' might be possible.

Λαμνστοῦ not in Preisigke *NB*; perhaps cognate with Λαμῶς, Λεμῶς, Λαμοῦσε.

11 -ζικ: presumably a verb ending -ζικεῖ, since the four nouns ending in -ζικεῖ are all unlikely.

12 εὔρηκα: possibly εὔρηκας.

18 ὀνήν is possible.

20 There is a space between ταχα and δύννη and likewise between ἐορτήν and πεμψο[υ] in 21. τάχα δύννη[σει] 'Perhaps you will be able (e.g. to come for the feast)' looks likely, but if the spaces indicate the ends of sentences, as could be appropriate in 21, (-)τέ]ταχα may be meant. Avoidance of a flaw in the papyrus (cf. 22 n.) is another possible cause of the gap.

22 ημω[.] ν: there was a space large enough for two letters left blank between ω and ν, probably to avoid a flaw in the papyrus.

23 The remains of the address are written on the back upside down in relation to the text and about an inch from the bottom. There is not room for much to the left of Ἀνδρονίκος, which one would expect to be Ἀνδρονίκω (cf. 1), but the idea of Σαραπάμμων—on a separate line more than an inch above—καὶ Ἀνδρονίκος finds little support in the repeated use of the first person singular in the text.

2597. LETTER FROM CEPHALION TO HERACLAS

11.5 × 15.3 cm.

Third/fourth century

Cephalion writes to Heraclas from Alexandria, where he has been looking after his correspondent's interests in some legal business. He reports upon the progress of his affairs and the manoeuvres of his friend's opponent, and requests more funds. The writing is clear and practised, though inelegant. We are indebted to Professor Youtie and others for readings and suggestions.

[Κεφαλίων]ων Ἡρακλᾶ τῶι τει-
 [μι]ωτάτωι χαίρειν.
 [γενός]μενος ἐν [Ἀ]λεξανδρεία ἀνα-
 [φόρι]α π[α]ρῆδωκα τῶ κυρίῳ ἤγε-
 5 [μόν]ι· καὶ οὐδέν μοι ὑπεγράφη μέ-
 [χρι το]ύτ[ο]υ. οὐ κάμνει δέ σου ὁ ἀντίδι-
 [κος ἐ]ντυγχάνων, οὐδ' ἐγὼ ὑποτυν-
 χ[άνω]ν, ὥστε ἀκοῦσαι με "προς-
 κ[αρτ]έρε[ι] τῆ τάξει, καὶ ὅταν ἀναγο-
 10 ρε[υθ]ῆ[ι]ς, ὑποτεύξῃ". τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἔ-
 στα[ι] ὁ ἀλόγου χρόνου, ὡς γε οἶμαι· ὁ γὰρ
 κύριος ἡγεμῶν ἐξέρχεται τῆ νεο-
 μηγία τ[ο]ῦ Ἄθου εἰς Ἐρμού πόλιν ἀπαρ-
 τίσαι τὰς διαγνώσεις, καὶ προέθη-
 15 κε[ν] πρό[στα]γμα περὶ τούτου. ἐὰν οὖν
 δό[ξ]ῃ σο[φ]ῆ διαπέμψαι μοι (δρ.) μ, καὶ ἐ-
 [πιστολήν] πρὸς τὸν παῖδα σου ὥστε
 [παρ' αὐτοῦ] ἄλλας (δρ.) μ λαβεῖν με, ἵνα
 [.]ης τῆ ὀλ[η] διμήνω εὔ
 20 [.].[. . .]ε.[. . .]ν[. . .]με[ν]ος πε

Verso :

Ἡρακλᾶ πρεσ[β]υτ(έρω) >< ἀπὸ Κεφαλίωνος.

10 seq. 1. ἔσται 19 First letter perhaps μ 20 After first ε: λ possible. Before first ν: υ possible. Verso: πρεσ[β]υτ

'Cephalion to the most respected Heraclas, greeting. Having come to Alexandria, I have presented applications to our lord the Prefect; and no decision has been endorsed on mine yet. Your opponent is tireless in making petitions, and so am I in making counter-petitions; so that I have heeded (your instruction): "Stay close to the Prefect's office, and whenever you are cited, enter an objection." But this affair will not soon be liquidated, in my opinion, for our lord the Prefect is leaving on the first of Hathyr for Hermopolis to settle his decisions; and he has issued a pronouncement about this. So if you will, send me 40 drachmae, and a letter to your son so that I get another 40 drachmae, in order that you (won't have to . . .) the whole two months' period . . .'

5 ὑπεγράφη: cf. UPZ i 118, 1 (see n. on ὑπογραφή).

7 seq. ὑποτυνχ[άνω]ν: cf. P. Ryl. 77, 39; here probably of a rejoinder or objection rather than an interruption.

11 seq. The most obvious occasion for the Prefect's journey would seem to be the Conventus; for which see Wilcken, *Archiv* iv (1908), pp. 366 seqq.; Reinmuth, *The Prefect of Egypt*, pp. 98 seqq.; for the term διαγνώσις in such a connexion, cf. (e.g.) P. Ryl. 113, 18 (A.D. 133). But both the time (Hathyr,

November) and the place mentioned here are somewhat at variance with previous conclusions about the Conventus. (See Wilcken, art. cit., p. 416; Reinmuth, op. cit., p. 101.)

15 πρό[στα]γμα: or possibly πρό[γρα]μμα.

15 seq. ἐὰν οὖν δό[ξ]ῃ σο[φ]ῆ διαπέμψαι: Youtie remarks that this infinitive construction with ellipse of the principal clause is well known in late letters.

20 This line perhaps contained final greetings. The position of the address on the verso suggests that the letter was only a line or so longer.

Verso: πρεσ[β]υτ(έρω): we cannot be sure which meaning the word had here.

2598. LETTERS FROM A CHARIOTEER

(a) 6.7 × 13 cm.; (b) 14.5 × 6.4 cm.

Third/fourth century

Two letters from a charioteer (ἡνίοχος) to his trainer (ἀλείπτης) which have substantially the same text and were found folded one inside the other. The reason for this is uncertain, but it might be conjectured that their writer, having received no reply to his first message, sent another, and that the addressee, having received both, kept them together. The mention of 'the lord Souchos' in (a) [3], (b) 3 suggests that they were sent from the Fayûm. Of the objects requested by the charioteer, one at least—the felt cap (πίλιον)—seems identifiable in the illustrated papyrus from Antinoopolis published by S. J. Gąsiorowski in *JEA* xvii (1931), pp. 1 seqq. (cf. pl. 1). The writing is sloping and inelegant, but clear. We are indebted to Professor Youtie, Signorina Vandoni, and Mr. D. Thomas for some readings and suggestions. (Read with Mr. A. Schachter.)

(a) [Ἐένο]ς τῶ κυρ[ί]ω Ἀμμ. . . .]
 [. . . .] τῶ πολλὰ χαίρειν. τὸ προσκύ-
 [νημά ε] σου ποιῶ παρ[ὰ τῶ κυρίῳ Σούχῳ]
 εὐχ[όμε]νός σοι πάν[τοτε τὴν] ὀλοικλη-
 5 ρίαν. [π]ᾶν ποίησον []
 [[εγ]] δοῦνε μοι μαμ[υλίωνων] ζεύγος
 κὲ ζεύ[γος φ]αρχι[δίων] πιλωτῶν
 κὲ πηλίν, κὲ τούτων [τὴν] τιμήν
 μοι ἀντιγράψαι δι' [ἀσφαλοῦς]
 10 ἀνθρώπου οὗ σοι δο[κεῖ]
 ἀλλὰ ἐν τάχει κύριε []
 ἐρῶσθαι [σε εὐχομαι.]

Verso: traces only of the address.

4 l. εὐχόμενος
 form |—| 1. δοῦνε

6 What might appear to be η written over εγ is probably cancellation in the
 7 l. καί; φακιδίων 8 l. καὶ πιλίων 11 l. τάχει

(b) Ξένος ἡνιώχος Ἀμμ[...][...][
 χαίριν. τὸ προσκύνημά σου ποιῶ παρὰ τῷ
 κυρίῳ Σούχῳ εὐχόμενος σοι πάντοτε τὴν δλοκλη-
 ρίαν. πᾶν ποιήσον πέμψαι μοι ζεῦγος μαμυλιώ-
 5 ρων καὶ πηλὴν καὶ φασιδίων πιλωτῶν ζεῦγος,
 καὶ τούτων τὴν τιμὴν μοι ἀντιγράψαι δι' ἀσφα-
 λοῦς ἀνθρώπου, εἴγα οὕτως ἀ[ὕτ]ῳ [τὸ] κέρμα ἀποκα-
 [ταστήσω.]

Verso:]. ἡνιώχου Ἀμμ.[
 ἀλίπτῃ. δις ἔγ[ραψα].

1 l. ἡνιώχος 2 l. χαίρειν; προσκύνημα 3 l. εὐχόμενος; πάντοτε 5 l. πιλίον; φασιδίων
 7 l. ἴνα. Verso 1 l. ἡνιώχου 2 l. ἀλίπτῃ

(b) 'Xenos, charioteer, to Amm . . ., greeting. I make obeisance for you in the presence of the lord Souchos, praying always for your prosperity. Make every effort to send me a pair of breast-plates (?), and a felt cap, and a pair of felt straps (?); and write back and tell me the cost of these through (some?) trustworthy person, so that I may thus reimburse him with the cash . . .' (Address) '(From Xenos) . . ., charioteer, to Amm . . ., trainer. I have written twice.'

(a) [1]; cf. (b) 1; Verso 2: Ἀμμ. . .: there will not have been room in either text for Ἀμμωνίῳ τῷ (τιμιωτάτῳ).

5 (a) will have had a longer alternative for the πέμψαι of (b) 4; for its possible sense, see the translation.

6 The writer began a verb beginning with ἐγ- (= ἐκ-) and cancelled it in favour of δοῦναι.

μαμυλιῶν: this seems more likely than -φρίων, which would make the writing somewhat crowded. In either case the word is otherwise unexampled. Signorina Vandoni suggests that it may be equivalent to the Latin *mamillare* (see Forcellini, *Lexicon* iv, p. 33, s.v.; cf. *pectorale*, ib. p. 545). The termination of the word here, however read, is puzzling, but a connexion with *mamilla* seems probable; 'breast-plate' or 'breast-protector'? We may perhaps compare the attire of the charioteers in Gasiorowski's illustrated papyrus. Note that the following items (the order is different in (b)) are both articles of apparel.

7 φ]ασι[δίων: cf. φασικία; 'braces' or 'shoulder-straps'?

9 There would be room for τινος at the end of the line.

10 (a) alone has οὔ σοι δο[κεῖ; (b) alone the promise of reimbursement. At the end of the line, perhaps πέμψαι μοι.

11 Supply πέμψον?

2599. LETTERS FROM TAURIS

6 × 26 cm.

Third/fourth century

There are two letters written on this papyrus, one on each side and both across the fibres. They were sent by a woman to two men whom she calls 'father' and 'brother'. The papyrus shows three folds, which have caused most of the damage to the second letter. Since there is no address, it was perhaps enclosed in a parcel. 120 is a close parallel to the form and from l. 12 there it is clear that those two addressees lived in the same place.

A Jewish or Christian circle is implied by a greeting to a woman called Susanna and to another probably called Esther. A rule of thumb (from *CPJ* i, pp. xvii seqq.) is that persons with Biblical names in documents dated before the death of Constantine are more likely to have been Jews and in later documents more likely to have been Christians. It is also stated there that among early Christians New Testament names were in use before those from the Old Testament. I believe the writing is earlier than A.D. 337, though it may be as late as the early fourth century. It may be significant that *manuale* (μανοαλλειν) can mean a Jewish priestly vestment, but it also has three less exotic meanings (*v. n.*, l. 33). The evidence, therefore, seems to suggest that they were Jewesses, but it is not unambiguous.

The writer often disregards Greek spelling and grammar, particularly the case-endings.

τῷ κυρίῳ μου πατρὶ
 Ἀπειθέωνι Ταῦρις
 χαίρειν
 πέμψον ἡμῖν
 5 δύο κτενεὺν γερδενεὺν
 καὶ δύο ὀνκείας στυρα-
 κειν ἀλλὰ καὶ δύο κτενεῖν
 μεγάλα τῆς κεφαλῆς·
 καθὼς εἰρηκες μοι
 10 εἰς τὸ χωρίον πέμπω
 σοὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, πέμψον·
 τὸ πορφυρεὺν το ἔλεγες
 ὅτι ἀγορανο ἀγόρασον·
 εἰπέ οὖν τὴν ἀδελφὴν
 15 τῆς γυνεκος Διοσκόρου
 λείει Διδύμησ ὅτι καθὼς εἶ
 εἰρηκες δικαρυτιδα
 εἰ ποιεῖς, αὐτὰ ποίησον,
 εἰ οὐ ποιεῖς, τὸ πορφυρι
 20 καὶ τὰ σιππία τοῦ πατρὸς εἶ
 μου ἀπαδομαι Εἰςθυρ
 καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν σου Κουσαν-
 να· καθὼς εἰρηκες οὖν,
 Κύρα, ὅτι πέμπω σοὶ σαβα-
 25 κατεια, πέμψον, καὶ πέμ(πω)
 σοὶ τὰ τῶν εἰρηκεσιων ἀσ-
 παδομαι σοὶ, Κύρα, καὶ τὴν
 ἀδελφὴν σου καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν
 τῆς μητρὸς σου.

5 l. κτενία and in l. 7
 φύριον δ 13 l. ἀγοράζω
 φύριον 20 l. στυππεία
 Αἰγυπτίων 27 l. σε

6 l. ὀγκίας στυρακίου 9 l. εἰρηκεσ and in ll. 17, 23, 31, 33
 14 l. τῆ ἀδελφῆ 15 l. γυναικός 16 l. λέγειν Διδύμη
 21 l. ἀσπάζομαι and in l. 26 24 l. σοὶ σαβακάθια 26 l. σοὶ,
 12 l. πορ-
 19 l. πορ-

30 τῷ κυρίῳ μου ἀδελφῷ Θεοδώρῳ Ταῦρις πλείστα χαίρειν ἀγόρασον μοι, κύριε
 μου ἀδελφε, τρία σαβακατεια
 καὶ τὸ καλεικεὺν κ. το εἰρηκεσ καὶ τρία σολγεια τὰ εἰς βαλανεῖα· τὸ
 εἰμιλιτρεὺν τρυφερὸν το ἔδωκά σο εἰς χρῆσέιν
 λάβε [[εἰ]] ποί(χη)σον αὐτὸ φακειαρὺν εἰ φέ[ρ]ε αὐτο(ῦ) τὴν τιμὴν· πέμψον μοι δύο
 κτενεὺν μεγάλα· καθὼς
 εἰρηκεσ ὅτι ἀγορανο, ἐρχόμενος ἔξω μνήσθητι τον ορκον· τὸ μικκον
 μανοαλλειν τὸ
 εἰς τον σάκκον μηδενὶ αὐτὸ δης· εἰρηκεσ αυτον ἐρχόμενος· τὴν ἡμιλιτρεὺν τρυφερεν
 α. εἰν . . . το
 35 εἰς τὸ καβειν· εἶπε ο υἱ[ο]ς Ἡ[ρ]ακλειανος ὅτι τὰ δύο τάλαγτα, εἰ δοκεῖ σο, ἀπο
 [.] πορφυρεὺν ἀγόρασον·
 ἀσπαδομαι σο Ἡρακλ. . . γ καὶ τον σύμβιον σου· ἀσπαδομαι Θεοδ[. . .]ου· ταχὺ ἔρχη
 εἰνα εἰδομεν σο·

30 l. σαβακάθια 31 l. δ, σόλια, ἡμιλιτρίον, δ, σοὶ, χρῆσεν 32 l. φακίριον οἱ φακιάλιον, ἦ,
 κτενία 33 l. ἀγοράζω, τοῦ ὄρκου, μικρόν, μανουάλιον (?) 34 l. δῶς, ἐνεγκον, τὸ ἡμιλιτρίον τρυφερὸν
 (οἱ -οῦ?) 35 l. σοὶ, πορφύριον 36 l. ἀσπάζομαι (bis), σε, ἵνα ἴδωμέν σε

"To my lord father Apitheon, I, Taüris, send greetings. Send us two weaver's combs and two ounces of storax and also two large hair combs. Just as you said to me, "I shall send things like that to the farm for you", send them. Buy the purple of which you used to say, "I shall buy it". So then, tell the sister of Dioscorus' wife to say to Didyme, "If, as you said, you are working on . . ., go on working on them, if you are not, work on my father's purple and tow." I salute Esther (?), and your sister Susanna. So then, Cyra, as you said, "I shall send you some towels", send them, and I shall send you some Egyptian ones. I salute you, Cyra, along with your sister and your mother's sister."

"To my lord brother Theodore, I, Taüris send very many greetings. Buy me, my lord brother, three towels and the . . . pair of boots which you mentioned and three pairs of slippers for the baths. Take the half-pound of fine tow (?) which I gave you to use (and) [[either]] make it into a face-cloth or bring the value of it. Send me two large combs. As you said to me, "I shall buy . . .", remember your oath when you come away. As to the little book (?) in the bag, do not give it to anyone. Bring it when you come. As to the half-pound of fine tow (?) . . . Tell the son of Heracleianus . . . the two talents, if you think proper, . . . buy purple. I salute you, Heracl . . . and your husband. I salute Theod. . . . Come quickly that we may see you."

2 Ἀπειθέωνι: not in Preisigke, *Namenbuch*. π is not damaged and is suitable palaeographically but the strokes of which it is composed might be interpreted e.g. γγ, γν, νγ, if this would produce a known name. The form in the text is intelligible as being formed from Ἄπις and -θέων in the same way as Apollitheon and Dionysitheon.

5 κτενεὺν = κτενίον, which the writer was unable to decline. A weaver's comb is part of the loom which separates the threads of the warp so that the shuttle can pass through; cf. Kalleris, *ai πρώται* ἔλαι p. 155, n. 1, S. Calderini in *Aegyptus* xxvi, p. 32.

γερδενεὺν = γερδιακά: the form is probably influenced by the preceding word and possibly by the memory of 'γερδιαίνα'.

6 στυρακειν = στυράκιον: cf. 1142 5.

9 εἰρηκεσ = εἰρηκεσ: cf. Mayser² I ii 81 seq.

10 χωρίον: meaning vague; 'farm', 'village'?

12 το: article for relative, as often; cf. Wilcken, *Archiv* iii 322. P. Mich. 518, 10 n., P. Abinn. 5, 9 n.

πορφύριον: it is not clear whether this is cloth or yarn or dye, but from ll. 19/20 dye seems most probable.

13 αγορανο: I take to be a 1st pers. pres. indic. (= ἀγοράζω) constructed from the aorist ἡγόρασα, perhaps on the analogy of ἔφθασα and φθάνω.

14 The text which I translate runs, εἶπέ . . . τῆ{ν} ἀδελφῆ{ν} . . . λέ{γ}ει{ν} Διδύμη{ς}. This is the simplest solution and is implied by the word order, even though the cases are wild.

17 δικαρυτίδα might be related to καρυζα 1740 II. 1740 is a list of articles several of which have to do with weaving. The equivalent suggested there was καρύδια 'pulleys', but here a word for cloth or yarn is needed. δι- might indicate double thickness or quality; cf. διυφαντός, τριυφαντός, etc. It seems to be neuter plural; perhaps δικαρυτίδια or δικαρυδίδια (cf. καρυζα) would be nearer the correct form.

Perhaps the comma belongs after ἀτά. 'As for "dikarutida", if you are working on them . . .'

19 Sc. a second ποιήσον. Since purple and tow are raw materials, the construction will be parallel to that in ll. 32, ποιήσον ἀπὸ φακιάριον 'make it (into) a face-cloth', but here the things into which the materials are to be made are left out, as being already well known to all the parties, and ποιεῖν is thus equivalent to 'work on'.

21 Εἰσθῦρ: probably, in view of 'Susanna' in the next line, to be taken as equivalent to 'Εσθήρ.

24 Κύρα: an alternative here and in 27 is κύρα = κυρία (cf. Palmer, *Grammar of the Post-Ptolemaic Papyri*, p. 65). If κύρα were the first reference to the 'lady', the relationships would not be affected, but if it meant Εἰσθῦρ (l. 21), as might be possible, then cov in 22 might refer to Esther and not to Apeitheon and 26 seqq. would repeat the sentiment of 21 seqq. with the addition of greetings to Esther's maternal aunt. ἀσπάζομαι is used both as an introduction and a farewell (Exler, *Epistolography*, pp. III, 115).

Interruptions of a letter to address another person are noted in P. Mich. viii 481, 32-34; 495, 21; 514, 35-37.

25 πέμ(πω): perhaps πέμπ[ω] should be read but the same edge appears to be preserved in this line as above and below.

31 καλεικειν from 'caliga', v. S. Daris, *Aegyptus* xl, p. 211, Meinersmann, *Die lat. Wörter*, s.v. καλκίων = 'calceus' (correct reference to SB 7168). For singular words denoting pairs of shoes cf. P. Mich. viii 477, 27 n., 508, 5 seqq.

κ.: in the first text τὸ εἶρηκες ought to have gone with καλεικειν. In the translation, therefore, I take the insertion to be an adjective agreeing with καλεικειν, without denying that it might be something else, e.g. καὶ The letters are small and written along a fold.

τρυφερόν: σιπιπὸν τρυφερόν is known from BGU 1080, 18 seq. and the translation supposes that 'tow' is understood here.

32: the tops of these letters are in a fold and there also seems to be an addition or correction of one or two letters. A good guess could be verified.

μανοάλλειν = 'manuale', which according to *Thes. Ling. Lat.* means (1) book, (2) portable lantern, (3) Jewish priestly vestment, (4) hand-towel. The third is interesting in view of the Old Testament names but a choice among these four does not seem to be possible. A roll in a wrapper could be a copy of the Torah, cf. Y. Yadin, *The Message of the Scrolls*, pp. 54 seq.

34 δης = δῆς: cf. 1158 14 P. Abinn. 7, 22; 36, 12; 59, 12; v. Mayer² I ii, pp. 86 seq.; cf. δυ (for δῶ) P. Mich. viii 510, 24.

ενηκκον = ἐνεγκον v. Mayer, i, p. 19.

αυτον I. αὐτό?, or retain αὐτόν and refer it to σάκκος?

ἐρχόμενος: χο corrected from something now unrecognizable.

την this may indicate that the phrase is meant to be in the accusative. The confusion of genders may be due to the influence of λῆτρα in the word or to the identical pronunciation of -ειν and -ην, cf. P. Mich. viii 473, 10 n.

α. εψ. . . το: between α and ε either ι or ρ; after ν, αι would suit the traces of the tops of letters; the left part of the crossbar of τ begins very low, perhaps coming from a c or perhaps there is no letter between αι and το. My only idea is αιεψαιτο = ἐ<γ>ίνετο, which is theoretically possible, but in the obscure circumstances unlikely to be right.

35 καβειν: this word is probably related to κάβος, which is a measure of varying size and for both solids and liquids, i.e. it is the 4th part of a modius (Epiphanius; Greek text in Lagarde, *Symmicta* i, p. 214, 19 seqq.) or, according to the Syrian text (J. Dean, *Epiphanius' treatise on weights and measures*, Orient. Inst. Univ. Chicago. Studies in Oriental Civilisation, p. 68), the 5th or 6th part. Adjectival forms—καβεία according to Lagarde p. 219 and P. Nessana 24, 5, 8, 12, but perhaps καβείον according to the Syriac transliteration, Dean p. xii—denote the area of land that can be sown by a cab of seed. According to Africanus *περὶ σταθμῶν* (Lagarde op. cit. 169) κάβος is the equivalent of a χοῦς in liquid measure. Epiphanius says that the word is from a Hebrew root (Lagarde 214, Dean 46) but Dean says that the supposed Hebrew word does not exist. However, a Palestinian or Syrian connexion is likely, cf. 4 Kings 6, 25, P. Ryl. 629 91, 186, 247; 630 4.

καβειδεν, appearing three times in a very doubtful context in P. Strassb. 35, 7, 10, 18, may also be relevant, and so, possibly, may καβων, read as a personal name in P. Mich. viii 473, 11. Before I was possessed of the above information Professor Youtie suggested that what was wanted here was the place or receptacle where the tow was to be found. On this basis I guess that the καβειν = καβείον was a container used also as a measure.¹

εἶπε ο υ[ο]ς Η[ρ]ακλειανος: the classical interpretation would be, 'Your (my?) son Heraclianus said', but in a text where the cases are so wildly used (v. ll. 14, 16, 33) the word order should be of more importance, and we should probably understand εἶπε τῷ υἱῷ 'Ηρακλειανοῦ (or -ῶ); cf. P. Mich. viii 492, 14. One would like to read οὔτ[] (cf. l. 14), but the trace after the gap is a heavy horizontal most easily read as the cap of a c.

απο[]: the first letter after the hole, which is narrow, has a long descender. The other traces are too scanty to be intelligibly described.

36 Ηρακλ. . . ν: Presumably an accusative instead of the expected vocative, cf. P. Mich. viii 514, 36 n. None of the women's names with the same beginning in Preisigke, *Namenbuch* will fit the space, but it is likely to be a known name written anomalously.

ου appears quite clearly; ρ would probably show beneath the hole if it were there but there are several possibilities besides Theodorus.

ἐρχη v. Horn, *Uses of the Subjunctive and Optative Moods in Non-literary Papyri*, pp. 120 seqq.

2600. LETTER FROM COPRIAS TO SARAPION

13 × 22.5 cm.

Third/fourth century

This letter is written on the verso of a piece of papyrus cut from a list of buildings and building materials 2581. The list is upside down in relation to the letter and there is an address written downwards between its two columns. The letter then had to be folded inwards from both sides to expose the address. There is slight damage along the first three folds from the left. More serious damage at the foot has removed the beginning of the address on the back (recto) but, because of a deep lower margin, has affected only the subscription of the letter.

The writing is large and clear, with rounded cursive forms of π and ν and with some ligatures, but without any blurring of the individual letters. It appears to belong to the late third or to the early fourth century and the same date is implied by the form of the address, which began to be used in the late third century (Ziemann, *De epistularum Graecarum formulis*, pp. 280 seq.). The mention of silver 'of the new coinage', which is referred to in documents ranging between A.D. 266 and 303 (l. 12 n.), indicates that the latest possible date is not much after A.D. 300.

¹ I now notice that there is some confirmation of this in Hesychius s.v. κάβος. The entry runs κ. μέτρον σιτικόν χοινικαῖον οἱ δὲ στυρίδα.

The letter has been corrected by a second hand, perhaps that of Coprias himself, which removed many of the errors, especially those of itacism. The corrector took no interest in the prescript and missed one or two itacisms (ll. 6, 10, 15) but all his corrections are good.

The mention of a temple of Apis on the recto (2581 ii 17) may indicate that the letter was sent to Oxyrhynchus from Memphis.

κυρίω μου *Σαραπειωνει*
Κοπρίας εὖ πραστίν·
 καθώς μοι ἐνετείλω πρόνοια ἢ προσ-
 ἡκουκά σοι γέγονεν ἐν τοῖς οἴνοις·
 5 ἀμερι[.]μνεῖν οὖν κατὰ τοῦτο
 τὸ μέρος οφιλ᾽ εἶς· τὸν ἀδελφὸν
 Ἀπολινάριον παρακατατίθεμαί σου
 τῇ χρηστότ[η]τ[α]ι ὄνπερ οὐδὲ αὐτὸς
 ἀγνοεῖς· ἐπιδώσεις οὖν σεαυτὸν
 10 ἐν οἷς εἰάν σου δεητῆ· ᾧ καλῶς
 ποιήσεις μεταβαλόμενος εἰς ἀναγ-
 καίας μου χρείας ἀργυρίου καινοῦ
 τάλαντ[α] τέτ[ε]ρα· ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐν-
 εδρεύσης τὸν σὸν Κοπρίαν· ἐπί-
 15 τασαι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς οὐκ εἰμει ἀναί-
 {c}θητος·

ἔρρ[ω]σθαί c]αι εὐχ[ομαι·

recto]... (blank) *Κοπρίας* αρχ()

1 l. *Σαραπίωνι* 3 *ενετέλω* pap. 4 *γεγονέν'* pap. 5 l. *ἀμεριμνεῖν -μν'έω* pap.
 6 l. *οφείλεις* 7 *παρακατατιθεμ[ε]αί σο[υ]'* pap. 8 *ο'ν'δε* pap. 9 *επιδώσ'έας* pap.
 10 l. *δέηται* 11 *ποιησ[η]εἶς, 'έας* pap. 12 *-κ[ε]αί'ας, χρ'έας, ἀργυρ[ε]ίου* pap. 14 seq.
επ[ε]κτασ[ε]αί' pap. 15 l. *εἰμι [η]εἶμει* pap. *αν[ε]αί'ε(c)θητος* pap. 17 l. *ce*

'To my lord Sarapion I, Coprias, send good wishes. As you instructed me, the measures that were your concern in the matter of the wines have been taken. So you must have no fears in this respect. I am entrusting to your goodness my brother Apolinarius, with whom you are yourself not unacquainted. So you will give of yourself in whatever he may ask of you. You will do me a favour by paying over to him for my immediate needs four talents in silver of the new coinage. And do not make difficulties for your own Coprias. You know yourself that I am not a fool (?).

'I pray for your health.'

1 On the name *Κοπρίας* cf. 2601 i n.

2 l. *πράσσειν* or *πράττειν*. Cf. 2561 2 n. The misspelling may arise from a vulgar pronunciation (cf.

1451 21 n.; *Chron. d'Égypte* xxiii (1937), p. 97 l. 10) or it may be due to conflation of the two spellings of the word, which both occur in the papyri (Mayser i 223).

5 *αμερι[.]μν'έω*: the space in the break may have been avoided because of a roughness in the papyrus, or it may have contained a letter immediately cancelled or, as Professor Youtie suggests, the scribe may have written a double *μ*; and there is an example of this in *JEA* xxiii (1937), p. 219, no. v, l. 9.

6 *οφιλ᾽έας*: cf. l. 15 where *ημει* for *εἰμί* is only half corrected to [η]εἶμει. At first I took this as *δ φιλεῖς*. The sentence owes its present, and proper, shape and punctuation to Professor Youtie.

10 *ἐν* added in the margin, perhaps by the first hand.

12 *καινοῦ* sc. *νομίσματος*. According to Johnson and West, *Currency*, p. 69, the extant uses of this phrase run from A.D. 266 (*CPHerm.* 86) to 303 (P. Lips. 84 vi 24). To the references there add 2587 (289).

15 *ἀναίσθητος*: taken in the usual sense of 'dull, foolish' (cf. Dem. v 15 of the Thebans) this seems to be a rather offensive close to a letter which is otherwise polite and friendly, v. *σου τῇ χρηστότητι* (7 seq.) and *τὸν σὸν Κοπρίαν* (14). '(Not) insensible of benefits' i.e. '(not) ungrateful' seems better but this sense is not to be found in the lexica.

recto]... : these letters, all broken, do not seem to belong to the expected *Σαραπίωνι*, but to another word, a patronymic or description or an address.

Κοπρίας clearly nominative and therefore preceded by the addressee's name in the dative. This form of address supports other evidence for the date, cf. introd. αρχ(), cf. BGU 351 5; P. Thead. 32, 13; P. Lond. 113 8c 4 (i, p. 220), all likewise in addresses, and, as Mr. Parsons points out to me, BGU 1617, 27; 1623, 5. P. Masp. 67030, 1 has *ἀρχ(ων) τῆς Θηβαίδος* and *ἀρχ(ων)* should be the right extension in the other cases too. It cannot mean *praeses*, and magistrate seems too vague. LSJ has some other meanings but I cannot see that any of them is specially appropriate here. *Ἀρχων* is known as a name, v. *Recherches de Papyrologie* ii (1962), pp. 43 (B ii 11), 62, but that seems hardly likely here.

2601. LETTER FROM COPRES

Plates IV and V

7 × 26.6 cm.

Early fourth century

This letter was written on damaged papyrus, and by a single hand throughout (perhaps, then, by Copres himself). The writing is a competent sloping semicursive, assignable to the late third or to the fourth century.

The content is unusually interesting. Copres writes to his 'sister' Sarapias in Oxyrhynchus, from a town where he is engaged on legal business. He had found on his arrival that litigants were being made to offer sacrifice; and he had appointed his 'brother' to appear in court in his place. They had instructed an advocate; the case (concerned with land) was to come on the fourteenth. Copres then inquires after the health of his family.

Copres was a Christian: he uses a *nomen sacrum* (5), and closes his letter with a cryptographic Amen (34). The sacrifice in court was clearly an unexpected requirement, and one which he took steps to evade. It would be a natural guess that this requirement was in fact directed against the Christians.

And such a measure is attested for the Great Persecution. In describing the First Edict (23 Feb. 303) Lactantius says: 'cavebatur ut . . . ipsi non de iniuria, non de adulterio, non de rebus ablatis agere possent, libertatem denique ac vocem non haberent . . . et ne cui temere ius diceretur, *arae in secretariis ac pro tribunali positae*,

ut litigatores prius sacrificarent atque ita causas suas dicerent, sic ergo ad iudices tamquam ad deos adiretur' (*de Morte Persecutorum* 13. 1, 15. 5).

This fits the situation of our letter admirably. It may be, of course, that similar steps were taken in earlier persecutions, about which we have little information. But as the evidence stands, Copres will have been writing during the Great Persecution—and, since the requirement seems to come as a surprise to him, probably near the beginning of it. A date in the early fourth century suits the hand very well.

This is the first document from Egypt which certainly refers to the persecutions.¹ It is all the more a pity that we know nothing of the writer except what emerges from his letter. Copres writes colourless, paratactic Greek, with normal vulgarisms of spelling and syntax; he shows his Christianity by using the abnormal ϑθ, but mishandles a *nomen sacrum*. That is, he was a man of average education; a zealous but not very intelligent Christian. The other names he mentions may be those of his family—Sarapias is probably his wife, Maximina and Asena may be his children. Maximina and Asena are both rare names; possibly Asena points to a Jewish connexion.

Copres's background, therefore, is matter for conjecture. But his story remains of the greatest interest. He easily evaded the sacrificial test; he evaded it with the help of a (pagan) friend; he speaks of it calmly, as of a minor nuisance, and sends for his family. There can have been no reign of terror at this time: Lactantius antedates the climax of the persecution; Eusebius, though he lacks the detail of the sacrificial test, offers a more reliable general picture.

I am indebted to Mr. Geoffrey de Ste Croix for his help with this text.

¹ P. Goth. 11 might perhaps refer to the persecutions; W. *Chr.* 127 remains obscure. The Paniscus letters are of course too early (P. Cairo Isid. p. 19). See Bell, *HTR* xxxvii (1944), pp. 206 seqq.; Cavassini, *Aeg.* xxxiv (1954), p. 271.

Κοπρήσ Καραπιάδι ἀδελ-
φῆ πλείστα χαίρειν·
πρὸ μὲν πάντων
εὐχομε ὑμᾶς ὀλοκλη-
5 ρῖν παρὰ τῷ κυρί(ω) θ[(ε)ῶ].
γινώσκιν σε θέλω
ὅτι τῇ ἱᾶ εἰσήλαμεν
καὶ ἐγνώσθη ἡμῖν
ὅτι οἱ προσερχόμενοι
10 ἀναγκάζονται θύ-
ειν καὶ ἀποκυττατῖ-
κὸν ἐποίησα τῷ ἀ-
δελφῶ μου καὶ μέ-
χρι τούτου οὐδὲν
15 ἐπράξαμεν ἐκατη-
χίσαμεν δὲ ῥήτορα
τῇ ἰ. ἵνα τῇ ἰδῆ εἰ-
σαχθῆ τὸ πρᾶγμα
περὶ τῶν ἀρουῶ(ν).

20 εἴ τι δὲ ἐὰν πράξω-
μεν γράφω σοι· οὐ-
δὲν δέ σοι ἔπεμψα
ἐπιδή εὐρον αὐτὸν
Θεόδωρον ἐξερχόμε-
25 νον· ἀποστέλλω σοι
δὲ αὐτὰ διὰ ἄλλου τα-
χέως· γράφε δὲ ἡμῖν
περὶ τῆς ὀλοκληρίας
ὑμῶν πάντων καὶ
30 πῶς ἔσχεν Μαξιμίνα

(left margin) καὶ Ἀσενά· καὶ εἰ δυνατόν ἐστιν ἐρχέσθω (space) μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς σου
(verso, along the fibres) ἵνα θεραπευθῆ τὸ λευκωμάτιον· ἐγὼ γὰρ (space) εἶδον ἄλλους
θεραπευθέντας· ἐρρώσθαί σε εὐχομε· ἀσπάζομαι πάντας τοὺς ἡμῶν κατ' ὄνομα.

34 ἀπ(όδοσ) τῇ ἀδελφῆ π(αρά) Κοπρήτ(ος) ϑθ
35 see note

4 ἕμας 7 ια: the bow of α crosses the ι; perhaps [[ι]α 10 αναγ'κ 13 μου: μ written over co
17 ἴνα. ἴβ: δ corrected from α? Both numeral strokes are very faint, the second perhaps delusory
19 αρουρῶ 29 ἕμων 32 ἴνα 34 απ', π'. κοπρή

'Copres to his sister Sarapias, very many greetings. Before all else, I pray for the good health of you all before the lord god. I want you to know that we arrived on the 11th. It became known to us that those who present themselves in court are being made to sacrifice. I made a power-of-attorney in favour of my brother. So far we have accomplished nothing. We instructed an advocate on the 12th (?), so that the case about the land could be brought in on the 14th. If we accomplish anything, I'll write to you. I've sent you nothing, since I found Theodoros himself setting out. I'll send them to you by another hand soon. Write to us about the health of you all and how Maximina has been and Asena. If it's possible let him (her?) come with your mother so that his (her?) leukoma can be cured—I myself have seen others cured. I pray for your health. My best wishes to all our friends by name.

'(Address) Deliver to my sister, from Copres. 99 . . .'

1 Κοπρή: the name is a common one in Egypt, and has many congeners—Perdrizet suggested that they belonged originally to foundlings, οἱ ἀπὸ κοπρίας (*REA* (1921), pp. 85 seqq.). It is therefore unsafe to take Copres here as a Christian 'humility name' (an interpretation suggested by Professor A. D. Nock, who referred to the Latin Stercus and Stercorius, *Dict. arch. Chrét. lit.* xii 1519 seqq.). Equally unsafe to think of this Copres as a foundling: see *Arctos* n.s. iii (1962) 45 seqq.

The nominative comes first, contrary to later (Christian) practice: cf. Cavassini, *Aeg.* xxxiv (1954), pp. 273 seq.

1-2 ἀδελφῆ: 'wife', most probably. In any case, Sarapias was not his full sister (31 'your mother').

5 κυρι(ω) θ(ε)φ: the papyrus has *KYPIΘ*; the suprascript stroke extends from above iota to the right edge of the sheet; after theta there is space for two letters.

A *nomen sacrum* was intended: the stroke proves this. But the writer seems not to have thought of it until he had written *κυρι* in full—he then hastened to abbreviate by omitting the omega. P. Merton ii 93, 35, note, lists some similar irregularities, due presumably to inexperienced or unintelligent Christians. 'One must bear in mind that in private letters the use of a *nomen sacrum* is surely always imitative, and the reason for writing it very likely unknown to the writer—unless he is himself a reader of good written texts (*NT*, etc.), or a professional scribe of such' (E. G. Turner).

At the end, either θ[ω] or θ[εω] gives a suitable line-length. I have restored the normal form, but the contraction stroke is sometimes combined with a complete word in the 4th cent. (P. Abinn. 4, 2, note; P. Jews, pp. 80 seq.).

9 οἱ προσερχόμενοι: in the legal context (15-19) the verb will have its technical sense 'appear before a tribunal'. (Often in reports of court proceedings, BGU 587, 2 *προσελθὼν εἶπεν*, P. Amh. 66, 43, 40 4, 237 vii 21, M. Chr. 372 iv 17, P. Mich. vi 365, 4; *προσελθεῖν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ* PSI 41, 18, τῆ ἔξουσία τοῦ ἡγεμόνος P. Lips. 28, 5, εἰς τὸ φροντιστήριον 2343 9, ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος BGU 361 ii 12.)

11-12 ἀποκυρτατικόν: for surviving documents of this kind, see 1642 introduction, and Taubenschlag *Law*² 506. The construction is paralleled in 509 12 ὁμολο[γῶ] τὸ κυρτατικὸν πετυῆσθαι c[ο].

15-16 ἐκατήχησαμεν: P. Strassb. 41, 37 [Ἀμ]μῶνιος ῥήτωρ εἶπεν· ἐμὲ οὐδέποτε κατήχησεν. In 2343 8 ἐδιδάξάμην seems to be used in the same sense.

17 τ: all that remains of the second numeral is the upper half of an initial vertical, and perhaps the left end of a middle horizontal. The horizontal trace would favour ἴβ against ἴγ.

19 Between 19 and 20 there is a space of about three lines, where the horizontal fibres have been stripped right off; in the marginal line 31 the gap falls after ἐρχέσθω. In neither place is the sense obviously defective. The first rho of αρουρῶ(ν) extends onto the exposed vertical fibres: presumably the papyrus was already damaged when the letter was written.

30 Μαξιμίνα: I have not found this name elsewhere in the papyri. *Μαξιμίνος* does occur, but uncommonly in the Byzantine period and occasionally before (BGU 156, 2; 1634 13).

31 Ἀσενά: as a masculine name LXX II Esdras 2, 50 (cf. *Ac(c)ana* I Esdras 5, 31, etc.). The papyri seem to know it only in the sixth century: 2058 134 *Μαρτυρία Ἀσενᾶ*, 150 'Ἡράει Ἀσενᾶ (so accented by the editors: Ἀσενᾶς would be a natural grecizing form). Ἀσενᾶθ and Ἀσανήθ (P. Flor. 297, 63, P. Lond. 1419, 99, etc.; BGU 972, 16, P. Ross.-Georg. 41, 6) are feminine, and owe their popularity in the 6th

cent. and later to Potiphar's daughter (Gen. 41, 45). There are too many unknowns for us to guess how this Asena came by his name. Is it Jewish? (Professor A. Fuks tells me that he and his colleagues have not found the name in Jewish sources outside the LXX.¹) Is it just biblical?

32 λευκωμάτιον: the word is regularly formed, but not elsewhere attested; as a reading it agrees well enough with the traces. A leukoma (*ἀφ' ἐλκώσεως οὐλή παχέα καὶ βαθεῖα* Galen xix 434) is mentioned several times in personal descriptions, e.g. P. Grenf. ii 51, 9.

ἐγὼ γὰρ εἶδον: why is the statement so emphatic? Remedies for leukoma were known in Egypt as elsewhere (Galen xii 737). But it would be rash to infer that Copres had a religious rather than a medical cure in mind—his words may be no more than a tribute to the doctors of the city (Alexandria?) from which he writes.

34 φθ: ἐνενηκονταενέα . . . καὶ τὸ ἀμῆν τοῦτον λέγουσιν ἔχειν τὸν ἀριθμὸν (Irenaeus, *Contra Haereses* I xvi = Epiphanius, *Panarion* 34, 12, 6; Migne *PG* vii 629B).² This isopsephy was therefore current among the Marcosians in the late 2nd cent. A.D.; by the early 4th cent. (if our source can be trusted) it was widespread and respectable enough to be recommended by the Council of Nicaea (*Dict. arch. Chrét. lit.* ix 1574 seq.). In the papyri I have found no example before the earlier 4th cent. (P. Mich. vi 378, 1, cf. PSI xiii 1342, 1, 1162 15)—the same is true of the *χμγ* and the *labarum* (P. Mich. vi 378, 1, viii 520, 15). Amen in full seems not to occur at all in 3rd- and 4th-cent. letters, and the use of φθ here has only one parallel—in 1162, a letter from a priest. This unusual feature may be a sign of special zeal. (I owe the reading here to H. C. Youtie.)

This line (the address) is upside down in relation to 32-33. It is divided after ἀδελφῆ by a double row of crosses. At the end, φθ intersects at right angles a damaged line of writing running along the shorter edge of the papyrus (35).

35 The traces are too substantial to be accident or offset; the script should be Greek (it is not Latin or Coptic or Aramaic). But I have found no satisfactory reading.

(1) If the papyrus is held with the intersection of 34 and 35 at the reader's left, 35 has the pattern (.) [. (.)] . . . in which the first two letters tangle with φ in 34. One might read, e.g., *πην* . . . [(R. A. Coles); after *ν*, apparently three letters written one above another; then two inscrutable signs. At the end, where the ink is quite clear, the first letter resembles nothing but]φ; the second is a backwards ε (seemingly not a damaged θ).

(2) If the papyrus is turned upside down, the end of 35 becomes its beginning and may be read ε' ο[. (.)] (L. Youtie); but what follows looks like nothing Greek.

(3) It may be that half of 35 is upside down in relation to the other, but even on this assumption no reasonable sense emerges. I see no way of deciding whether or not the line belongs to the same text as 1-34.

¹ Josephus' Ἀσίναος (*Ant.* xviii 314), if it is the same name, is too early to be relevant.

² The resolution βοήθι seems not in place here, though it is necessary in some inscriptional texts (Dölger, *Byz. neugriech. Jahrbücher* i (1920), pp. 42 seq.).

2602. LETTER FROM AGATHUS

12·1 × 25·8 cm.

Earlier fourth century

An illiterate jumble of clichés, in which Agathus commends Theodora to Heraclius.

The hand is a practised cursive, written along the fibres: it is rapid and sloping in the body of the letter, and still more in the subscription; in the address it becomes larger, neater, and upright. The completed letter was folded four times vertically, and then once across; folding smudged the wet ink of the subscription. On the verso, the address stands half on either side of the horizontal fold.

κυρίω μ[ο]ν ἀδελφῶ Ἡρακλείω

Ἄγαθ[ο]ς χαίρειν.

ἀξιωθείς, κύριέ μου ἀδελ(φε), συν-

βαλαίεσθαι τῇ ἀδελφῇ ἡμῶν

5 Θεοδώρα εἴ τι ἐάν σοι ἀξίω-

σαι. οἶδας γάρ καὶ εὐ αὐτός, κύριε

ἀδελφέ, ὅτι γυνή {ἔστιν} τοῦ

ἀδελφοῦ ἡμῶν ἔστιν. συνβα-

λοῦ οὖν αὐτῇ εἴ τι ἐάν σοι ἀξίω-

9 10 σαι. οἶδα γάρ σου τὸ σπουδαί-

ον· μᾶλλον ὑπαρχθήτω αὐτῇ

τὰ τῆς ἀγαθῆς σου προερέσει.

προσαγορεύω ἀπ' ἐμοῦ

τοὺς κυρίους μου υἱοὺς καὶ

15 τὴν κυρίαν αὐτῶν μητέραν.

ἔρρωσθαί σοι εὐχομαι

πολλοῖς χρόνοις,

κύριέ μου ἀδελφε.

(Verso, along the fibres) κυρίω μου ἀδελφῶ Ἡρακλείω Ἄγαθος

4 l. βαλέσθαι. ἀδελφῆ: φ begun with a dry pen, and then redrawn 5-6, 9-10 l. ἀξίωσθε
9 εἴ written with a dry pen, and then redrawn 10-11 σπουδαῖον: ν is a correction 11 αὐτῇ:
a rewritten 12 l. ἀγαθῆς σου προαιρέσεως 14 l. κυρίους. υἱοὺς pap. 16 l. σε

'To my lord brother Heraclius, Agathus sends greetings. At my request, my lord brother, give our sister Theodora whatever help she may request of you. Indeed, you yourself also, lord brother, know that she is the wife of our brother. So give her whatever help she requests of you. Indeed, I know your goodness: let your good will be all the more at her service. I present my compliments from me to my lords (my) sons and to their lady mother. I pray you may have good health for many years, my lord brother. (Address) To my lord brother Heraclius, Agathus.'

3-4 συνβαλαίεσθαι: we expect συνβαλοῦ. For this natural inconcinnity ('ellipse', 'attraction', 'mixed construction', 'imperative infinitive') compare BGU 276, 7 (with παρακληθείς); SB 6263, 8 and 7562, 12 (with ἐρωτηθείς). The same phenomenon often occurs in hypothetical sentences: *Mus. Helv.* iii (1946), pp. 170 seqq.

5-6, 9-10 ἀξιώσαι: -σαι (i.e. -σε) instead of -ση, as, e.g., BGU 1575, 22-23, 1576 (I owe the references to Frank Gignac S.J.).

10-11 οἶδα . . . τὸ σπουδαῖον: a cliché well attested for the second and third centuries (929 3, 1064 6, 1218 4, P. Ryl. 243 6). It takes on a Christian form in P. Abinn. 6, 5 seq.

12 ἀγαθῆ . . . προερέσει: cf. 1424 17-19 ἵνα μοι μαρτυρήσῃ τὰ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀγαθῆς σου προαιρέσεως αὐτῷ ὑπαρχθέντα (c. A.D. 318). 'Good will' is a favourite subject with 3rd- and 4th-cent. correspondents: cf. PSI 236, 34 εἰδώς σου τὴν ἀγαθὴν προαίρεσιν; P. Ryl. iv 696, 2 θαρρῶν τ[ῆ] ἀγαθῆ σου προαιρέσει; 1664 6 μεμνημένη τῆς ἀγαθῆς σου προαιρέσεως; 1665 7 καθ' ἣν ἔχεις πρὸς ἐμὲ ἀγαθὴν προαίρεσιν.

13 προσαγορεύω ἀπ' ἐμοῦ: a conflation of προσαγορεύω and προσαγόρευε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ.

2603. CHRISTIAN LETTER OF COMMENDATION

11·5 × 25 cm.

Fourth century

This letter was published (with plate) by J. H. Harrop in *JEA* xlvi (1962), pp. 132-40, and is reprinted here for completeness' sake.

τῶι κυρίῳ μου [ἀ]δελφῶι C[.....]νι
 Παῦλος εὖ [πράτ]τειν
 τῶι ἔσοπτρον κτησαμένῳ ἢ ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτο ἐν
 χεירὶ ἔχοντι ἐν οἷς τὰ πρόσωπα ἐνοπτρίζεται
 5 οὐ χρεία ἐστὶν τοῦ λέγοντος ἢ μαρτυροῦντος
 περὶ τοῦ αὐτῶι ἐπικειμένου χαρακτήρος
 καὶ τῆς χροίας καὶ τοῦ εἶδους ὅπ[οις] ἄς' [πρ] ὑπάρχει·
 αὐτὸς γὰρ δι' ἑαυτοῦ μάρτυς γέγονεν καὶ λέ-
 γει δύναται περὶ τῆς ἰδία[ς] δ[ο]μοιώσεως·
 10 καὶ οὐχ ὅτε τις αὐτῶ λέγει ἢ σαφηνίζει πε-
 ρὶ τοῦ κάλλους καὶ τῆς εὐπρεπείας τῆς πε-
 ρὶ αὐτὸν τότε πιστεύει· οὐ γὰρ κατὰ τοὺς ἄλ-
 λους ὑπάρχει τοὺς ἐν ἀγνοίαι ὄντας
 καὶ τοῦ ἔσόπτρου πόρρω καθεστῶ-
 15 τας τοῦ τὰς πάντων ὁμοιώσεις ἐπιδεί-
 ξαντος· τὸ αὐτὸ δέ ἐστὶν καὶ πρὸς σέ,
 ὦ φίλτατε· καὶ γὰρ ὡς δι' ἐσ[ό]πτρου κα-
 τίδες τὴν πρὸς σέ μου ἔ[μ]φυτον
 στοργὴν καὶ ἀγάπην τὴν ἀεὶ νέαν·
 20 περὶ δὲ τῶν ἡμετέρων γνωρίμων
 τῶν σοι τὰ γράμματα καταφερόντων
 οὐδέ[σ]ον μοι ἐστὶν γράφαι [σοὶ] ἄς' ἐπ[ι]στα-
 μ[ένω] τὴν πρὸς [πά]ντας σοῦ φιλίαν
 κα[ὶ] στο[ργή]ν, μάλιστα πρὸς τοὺς ἡμετέρους
 25 ἀδελφούς· προσδέξαι οὖν ἐν ἀγάπῃ
 ὡς φίλους, οὐ γὰρ κατηχούμενοί εἰσιν
 ἀ[λλ]ὰ τῶν περὶ Ἰσίανος καὶ Νικολάου
 ἰδ[ί]οι 'τυγχάνουσι', καὶ εἰ τι αὐτοῖς ποιεῖς ἐμο[ὶ] ἐποί-
 ησας· πάντες οἱ ἐνθάδε ἀδελφοὶ πρ[ο]-
 30 αγορεύουσιν ὑμᾶς· ἀσπάσαι κα[ὶ] τοὺς ἐν
 σοὶ πάντας ἀδελφούς ἐκλέκτου[ς] τε καὶ [κα-
 τηχουμένους.
 ἔρρωσο ὑμᾶς εὐχομαι.

Down the left-hand margin, in brown ink, ? different hand:

34 καὶ εἰ δύνατον σοὶ ἐστὶν τοῖς ἄλλοις γράφαι περὶ [τούτων] μὴ δκνήσις
 ὅπως προσδέξωνται

35 κατὰ τόπον

Verso Address, along the fibres, same hand and ink as ll. 34-35:

Παῦλος τῶ ἀδελφῶ []ιω[ν]

1 There is a distinct tail of a letter below the line, 3 mm. to the right of C. The final letters νι are moderately large 7 οἱς and πρ struck out with one stroke 12 τ in κατα is altered from c 13 αγνοιαί, Pap. 17-18 l. κατείδες 22 σοι is crossed out, and there are undecipherable traces of ink above 28 τ of τι altered from α.

‘To my lord brother S[erapio]n Paul (wishes) well-doing. A man who has acquired a mirror, or holds in his hand something else of that sort, in which faces are seen represented, has no need of one to tell him, or testify about the character that lies upon him, and his complexion, and his appearance, how it is. For he himself has become a witness by himself, and can speak about his own likeness. And when someone speaks to him, or explains about the beauty and comeliness about him, he does not then believe. For he is not like the rest who are in ignorance, and standing far from the mirror that displays the likeness of all. And it is the same with you my good friend. For as through a mirror you have seen my implanted affection and love for you ever fresh. Now concerning the acquaintances of ours who are bringing down the letter to you, there is no need for me to write, (knowing as I do) your friendship and affection to all, especially towards our brethren. Receive them therefore in love, as friends, for they are not catechumens but belong to the company of Ision and Nikolaos, and ‘if you do anything for them, you have done it for me’. All the brethren here salute you. Greet also the brethren with you, both elect and catechumens. I pray you may be strong. And if you can write to the others about (them) don’t hesitate, that they may receive them in each place.’

22 [οὐδέ]ον suggested by T. C. Skeat instead of [ἀναγκαί]ον.

MINOR LITERARY TEXTS

2604. 24×30 cm. On the recto, a document, almost wholly effaced; the few remaining traces are of writing in a practised upright official hand of the third century A.D., written with a very fine pen; at the bottom, some lines in thicker writing; the month name *Μεχείρ* in three of these in succession is almost all that can be made out on this side. It is probably the same scribe who has written on the verso (again with a fine pen) a hexameter line three times; the first in cramped, tall upright letters of 'chancery' type; the second time in similar writing, but a little larger; and finally in large uncial letters, decorated with serifs; the Θ is of an archaic shape, with a central dot instead of a cross-bar. The line might be thought a genuine citation were it not for the fact that it contains every letter of the alphabet; we are therefore probably justified in concluding that it is fictitious, a pseudo-epic line used here as a writing exercise, and somewhat analogous to the pronounceable combinations of letters, embodying some real words, cited and fancifully discussed in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v 8 §§ 46-49 (pp. 357-60 Staehlin): βεδυζαψχθωμπληκτρονσφυγξ; κναξζβιχθυππησφλεγμοδρωψ; μαρπτεσφυγξκλωψζβυχθηδον; see Lobeck, *Aglaoph.*, pp. 1331 seq.; Bentley, *Epist. ad Millium* (ed. Gould, Toronto 1962), pp. [87] seqq.; the two former are cited in a scholar's exercise of the first century, Wessely *Stud. Pal.* i 2 (1902), p. xlv; see also Beudel, *Qua ratione Graeci liberos docuerint*, p. 14; Ziebarth *Aus d. ant. Schule (Kl. Texte* 65, Bonn, 1913) no. 6 (p. 5). These, however, contain the letters of the alphabet each once only; a closer parallel to our line will have been the fragmentary l. 16 of *daī Papyri della Soc. ital.* (1965) (*Omaggio al xi congresso di pap.*) No. 3 (1st cent. B.C.); cf. the familiar English example 'The quick brown fox jumps over the lazy dog'. (Read with Mr. A. Schachter.)

¹ [βωμον ο γ ηψε θεοις ζαμεν]ης δε πυρος κεχυ[τ]ο [φλοξ] ² [β]ωμον ο γ ηψε θεοις ζαμενης δε πυρος κεχυτο φλοξ] ³ ΒΩΜΟΝ Ο Γ ΗΨΕ ΘΕΟΙΣ ΖΑΜΕΝ[ΗC] Α[Ε] ΠΥΡΟΣ ΚΕΧΥΤΟ ⁵ [ΦΛΟ]Ξ

ηψε: for the use, cf. Hdt. viii, 52; Aeschyl. *Ag.* 295.
κέχυτο φλόξ: cf. *Iliad* xvi 122 seq.: τοι δ' ἔμβαλον ἀκάματον πῦρ | νηὶ θεῶν τῆς δ' αἴψα κατ' ἀβέεστη κέχυτο φλόξ.

2605. 8.2×6.5 cm. Third century. A note mentioning *Iliad*, Book II, with a date. Written in a mature and practised cursive hand along the fibres in the top left-hand corner of a small rectangle of papyrus. Evidently a memorandum rather than a *κίλυβος* (such as 301, 1091, 2396, and 2433).

Ἰλιαδος β
Μεχείρ [ζ] η

2606. 1.8×12.3 cm. First to second century. A narrow vertical strip, found rolled from top to bottom. The hand is upright and rather informal, with frequent ligatures. The first line, followed by a space of rather more one line, suggests a heading *Πρὸς τοὺς Κοφικ[τάς]*. If the fragment is thought to be part of a single work so entitled, more than one might be suggested. The fragments of the treatise of this name by Metrodorus (ed. Koerte, *Jahrb. f. kl. Phil.*, Suppl. xvii (1890), pp. 529-97) do not encourage us to any conclusion. Another and perhaps more likely possibility is Philodemus, who wrote a work whose title began *Πρὸς τοὺς* [; Vogliano conjectured [*Κοφικτάς*; see Philippson, *RE* xix 2465 seqq. The blank lines 10 and 17, however, might be thought to indicate that we have here not a single work but a subject-anthology of prose citations. (Read with Mr. R. A. Coles and Mr. W. Campbell.)

¹]ουc κοφι. [² (blank) ³]ειν δεια[⁴]φερειν κ[⁵] παραχην [⁶]ων εξω. [⁷]α τας ψευδ[⁸]χην π. [⁹]γοντω. [¹⁰ (blank) ¹¹] παρα τοι[¹²]ακις ε. [¹³]μενο. [¹⁴]ογοιc δ. [¹⁵]. διαθε. [¹⁶]ταγ[¹⁷]ει. [¹⁸]ο αληθ[¹⁹]. ειβ. [

8 After π: ο or ε? 9 Last letter: α or δ? 12 Last letter: δ, or possibly α or χ 13 Last letter illegible; corrected? Traces above 14 After δ: ο? Then θ or c? 15 First letter: ω? 16 ε corrected to ου, and ε added after it, above

5 παραχην: frequent in Philodemus, as Lloyd-Jones observes; see Vooyo, *Lexicon Philodemum* s.v.

14 λ]όγοιc, or a compound?

15 διάθεσιc is frequent in Philodemus (Ll.-J.).

2607. 5.9×8 cm. Part of one column from an oneirocriticon, written in a firm, careful sloping book hand of the third century; the verso is blank. To judge from the one section preserved (ll. 5-8), the dreams, with interpretations, are set out briefly and divided by paragraphi. We may compare the extant Egyptian examples in Hieratic (P. Chester Beatty III: Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum 3rd Series* (London, 1935), pp. 9-23) and Demotic (Volten, *Demotische Traumdeutung, Analecta Aegyptiaca* iii (Copenhagen, 1942)) rather than the more discursive treatment to be seen in Artemidorus Daldianus. The dream described here is not paralleled in the Egyptian books; but with *προκουρη* in l. 5 compare the use of the word in Artemidorus iv 44, where several dreams about urination are mentioned; see also Achmes, *Oneirocr.* (ed. Drexler, 1925), pp. 29 seq., 62. (Read with Mr. A. Schachter.)












¹ ...[.]α. [² [(stripped) ³ [...]ωφ[⁴]δυc. [[...]] [⁵ εαν προκουρη [αν]δριαντι η εικον[] ⁷ των ιδιων πρα[γμα]των αμελησει ⁹ εαν επανω[¹⁰ [...]]...υτων[¹¹ [...]] και τ. [¹²]

A few traces on fibres projecting below.

4 After δυc: π or τε 10 After one letter lost: υ? Next: ο or ρ? Next: γ or π? 11 Last letter: trace, high, joining τ

2608. Fr. (a) 5.3 × 13 cm. Third to fourth century. Several fragments of very coarse papyrus, all but one joining, written across the fibres in a small, thick, semi-cursive hand. One column from a shorthand manual; tachygraphic signs followed by their resolutions, evidently from the Syllabary or primary part of the book. The order of the items, however, is not that of any extant Syllabary, and although some of the signs are similar to signs to be found in Milne, *Greek Shorthand Manuals*, there are no exact parallels. The differentiation between *ou*-sounds and *ai*-sounds, however, is maintained, the former having bars pointing to the right, and the latter to the left. The unattached fragment (b) bears traces of five lines, l. 1 reading]μηδ[; the rest illegible. (We owe the work upon this text to Mr. R. A. Coles.)

Fr. (a): illegible traces of eight lines; then:

9] ου . [10] . ου . [11]  ουπω [12]  ουδε [13] . . . [14] . ουκε[τι 15  ουδε [16] 
 ουδειζ [17]  αυ [18]  οιν [19]  αιμ [20] .  οιμ [21] • οσα [22] / ουτ [23] 
 τ ου [24]  τουτ [25]  τουτ [

11 The sign is not unlike that for *ουτω*, no. 209 in the Commentary in Milne, *op. cit.*, but *ουπω* is a more likely reading here.

15 seq. The signs are similar to that for *ουδε* in Milne 407, though they differ in having strokes and a dot. Cf. also the signs in Milne 410 seq.

17 seq. The signs for *αυ*, *οιν* are not identical with those for the same combinations in Milne 144 seq., but are similar. Cf. also those for *αιμ αυ*, *οιμ αυ*, Milne 286 seq. With the sign for *οιν*, cf. those for *οιμ[εν]*, *οιμ[εθ]* [α in the Syllabary fragment P. Ant. 1, fr. 8 verso (Milne, p. 15).


19 *αιμ* occurs in this same fragment, but the sign for it is not preserved.

23 seqq. For a word beginning *του* in the Syllabary, cf. P. Ant. 1 fr. 13 verso (Milne, p. 16).

MINOR DOCUMENTS

2609. 7.5 × 8.5 cm. Fourth century. This short letter (little appears to have been lost at the end), which employs a Christian formula of address, informs a recent visitor of the illness of the writer's son, from which he has recovered, and expresses solicitude about the visitor's own health. The writing, which is upright, rounded, and plain, is across the fibres; the verso is blank.

¹ Μηβριω. [² τῆ κυρία μου ἀ[δελ]φῆ ἐν Κ(υρί)ω . χαίρε[ω]. ⁴ εἰδένε σε θέλω ὄτι ⁵ μετὰ τὸ ἐξελεῖν σε ⁶ ὁ υἱός μου Ἐλενος νεῖνώθραντε ὀλίγας ⁸ ἡμέρας· καὶ ἤδη [c]ὶ [ν Θε-] ⁹ω ἐπαύσατο. δ[ήλω]το οὖν ἡμεῖν καὶ περὶ τῆς ζῆς ζητηθ[έας]. ¹² α.
 [. In left margin: κόμισε τὸν ζάκκον.

1 After ω, trace of bottom of upright, a little below the level of the bottom of the preceding letter but not necessarily a tailed letter; it might be ν 3 κω; after this, a sign, almost effaced, which looks like  4 l. εἰδέναι 6 υἱός 6 seq. l. νενώθρανται 8 After καί: first η abnormally formed, with first down stroke sloping and a ligature above with the preceding ε; δ of normal shape; following η mostly effaced; after lacuna of one letter, ν unlike other examples, with right arm higher than left 9 Small space after ω 12 The line seems to begin with a large α, a little to the right of the last line. Then possibly ζ. Margin: l. κόμισε; ζάκκον

1 Μηβρίων? No such name is otherwise known; the nearest we have found to it is Μηβριε in PSI 1429, 10 (6th cent.).

3 After κω, possibly a monogram for Χρ[ιςτῶ]; see textual n.

6 Ἐλενος: not the most likely name for a Christian, unless the choice of it was influenced by the name of Constantine's Empress.

6 seq. νενώθραντε: νωθραίνειν is otherwise unexampled; but cf. νωθρεύειν (P. Giss. 17, 6; BGU 449, 4; P. Lond. 144, 3); νωθρεύεσθαι (PSI 717, 5; P. Tebt. 421, 5; 422, 5; P. Mich. 477, 36; 479, 7; P. Mert. 82, 14); νωθρός (P. Brem. 61, 15; PSI 1386, vs. 6); νωθρία (P. Amh. 78, 15). In P. Mich. 479 the writer expresses anxiety for the health of the departed guest in similar terms, but in that case it is because the guest was unwell when he left.

9 ἐπαύσατο: of recovery from sickness, used absolutely, as in 1299 6 (4th cent.).

12 Probably some part of ἀπαύεσθαι.

2610. 10.7 × 13 cm. A fragment from the left side of a column written in a sloping cursive hand of the late third century. It contains a text similar to 2475-7 and BGU 1074 (also from Oxyrhynchus) and reproduces in ll. 2-8 the letter of Severus in 2476 7-11 and BGU 1074, 5-7, that of Severus and Caracalla in BGU 1074, 7-8 only, and that of Alexander in 2476 11-12; BGU 1074, 8-9, supplementing the text of each a little where both of their much more extensive copies are defective. The rest of the text contained copies of correspondence like that in the later parts of the texts mentioned above, from which this has been restored; serious lacunae in these duplicate texts are here indicated by half-square brackets. The nature of this text was recognized by Mr. E. L. Hussey, to whom much of the work on it is due; we are also indebted to Mr. Rea for help.

¹ (Trace of ι letter.) . . . περιελη²[λυθέναι τὴν τῶ]ν ὄλων [κ]ηδεμ[ο]νία[ν καὶ βασιλείαν
διὰ ψηφίσματος φανεράν ποιῆσαι τὴν γνώμην (c. 30 letters)³ τοῖς βουλόμενος ὁπόσα
εἴχετε⁴ ⁵ [ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ τῶν] πρὸ ἐμοῦ αὐτοκρ[ατο]ρων δεδομένα ὑμῖν δίκαια καὶ φιλόανθρω-
πα ταῦτα καὶ αὐτὸς φυλάττω προσαύξειν ἐθέλων καὶ διὰ τιμῆς ἄγειν ἄνδρας μουσικ⁶ οὐς
καὶ⁷ ⁸ [ταῖς πρὸς τὸν] Διόνυσ⁹ον θρησκ[ε]ίαις ἀνακειμέ¹⁰νου¹¹. εὐτυχεῖτε. (Rest of line
probably blank.) ¹² [θεῶν] Σεουήρου] καὶ Ἀντωνίνου. τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν ὑμῶν καὶ πάνυ
πεφροντισμένως ἐνετύχομεν ὡς μήτε ὑστερεῖν τι ὑμῖν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων δικαίων μήτε
(c. 8 letters) ¹³ [. . .] τι τῶν [ε]κ παλαιοῦ [ε]ργ[ο]μμένων (c. 30 letters)¹⁴ λλειον παρ-
. εὐτυχεῖτε. (c. 30 letters) θεοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου]. ¹⁵ [δ]σα θεῶ Ἀντωνίνω πατρ[ε]ῖ
ἐμῶ [καὶ θεῶ Σεουήρω πάππω μου καὶ τοῖς ἄνωθεν προγόνοις ἐκρίθη περὶ ὑμῶν
(c. 50 letters) ¹⁶] ¹⁷ ¹⁸ πολλάκις ἀπεφηνάμην κύρια [ε]ἶ[ναι] οἱ καθ' ἐκάστην πανήγυριν ἀγωνο-
θέται πειθαρχήσουσιν. (c. 55 letters) ¹⁹] ²⁰ Ὁξυρυγχειτῶν ἄρχουσι βουλή διὰ [Αὐ]ρή-
λλ[ε]ο[υ] ²¹ [-[τ]ο[ς] βουλευτοῦ ἐνάρχου πρ[ο]σανέως τῆς Ὁξυρυγχειτῶν ²² [οἱ]κουμηνική[ς]
περιπ[ο]λιτικῆς μεγάλης συνόδου ²³ [.] τι εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἱεράν σύνοδον [²⁴ [τ]οῦ-
[τ]οῖς] πρᾶξαι. ἐρρώσθαι ὑμᾶς εὐχομαι φίλτατ[ο]ι. ²⁵ ²⁶ μεγίστου εὐσεβοῦς εὐτυχοῦς σεβαστοῦ
Φα²⁷ ²⁸ ²⁹ ψήφισμα τῆς ἱεράς μ[ουσικῆς καὶ πε]ριπολι[τικῆς] μεγάλης συνόδου ³⁰ καὶ τῶν
τρούτων³¹ συναγωγ[ιστῶν] ³² [. ἀ]ξ[ί]δοξεν παρ[α]βληθῆναι ³³ [. ἀν]αδοθῆναι . . .

⁴ ἀνακειμέ¹⁰νου¹¹: 2476 10 seq. has: ἀνα[κ] . . . [(c. 5). εὐτυχεῖτε]; BGU 1074, 7:]ε. εὐ[τυχεῖτ]ε.
Examination of the former passage confirms the reading ἀνα[κ]μ[ε].

⁵ seq. A verb probably followed another μήτε here as ὑστερεῖν does the first.

⁶ Our conclusion about the spacing of the line is based on the length of the line in BGU 1074.

⁸ πολλάκις ἀπεφηνάμην: Rea observes that this should be restored in 2476 12.

⁹ ἄρχουσι <καὶ> βουλή?

¹³ φίλτατ[ο]ι: cf. (e.g.) BGU 1073, 20.

¹⁵ Cf. 2476 34 seq.

¹⁶ συναγωγ[ιστῶν]: cf. BGU 1074, 1 and n. on 2476 2.

¹⁷ seq. ἀξ[ί]δοξεν παρ[α]βληθῆναι . . . ἀν[α]δοθῆναι: cf. 2476 35 seq., where the text is shorter than it
evidently was here.

2611. 11 × 19 cm. A.D. 192/3. This document is unbroken only on the left side, though the last surviving line was probably at or near its end. Its width must, to judge from the imperial titles, have been originally about twice as great as now appears, that is, there are about 30 letters missing at the ends of the best preserved lines. It recounts episodes in the career of a successful athlete or Dionysiac artist (cf., e.g., 13, 14, 19). The tone appears to be favourable (7 εὐνοουστερ⁸, 15 προπεποιημένων, 22 ἐπικουρίας). διὰ Θεοδώρου²⁶, in the last line of the document proper (26), suggests that it was submitted through an intermediary to some official or official group, and the repeated first person plural suggests a letter from some body in support of the athlete's application. For this last, the two most likely bodies are the ἱερά σύνοδος and the senate of a metropolis. But more than one document may be recited inside this

one (cf. 20 n. and such diplai as 2476, P. Lond. 1174). The chief interest of the text is palaeographical because it is securely dated to A.D. 192/3 and written in carefully formed capitals rather taller than they are broad. Though not itself a book hand it may be useful in helping to date book hands. Plate X.

¹ . . .] . . . [² τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τω³ οἱ δὲ τῶν κομμάτων [⁴ εἰς θαυμασιωτατοῖ⁵ νη καὶ ἀξίωμα καὶ α. [⁶ τῆς ἐστὶν τῆς λαμπροτ. [⁷ ἀνατραφεὶς εὐνοουστερ⁸ ψαντες καὶ τῶν γνησίων του⁹] ¹⁰ μεν παρ' ἡμῶν (1. ἡμῶν) καὶ ἐντεῦθε¹¹ νῦν ἐπιφανῶς ἀχθέντ¹²] ¹³ πεντα-ετηρικὸν πρῶτον [¹⁴ μον εἰσελαστικοῦ των . . . [¹⁵ ἀγωνιστάμενος ἐστεφανώθη ος . . . [¹⁶ ἠγῆσεν παρὰ τῶν ἀγωνοθετῶν . . . [¹⁷ μεν αὐτὸν εἶδομεν ἀμείψασθαι [¹⁸ ὑπὲρ τῆ τῶν προπεποιημένων (1. προπεποιημένων) ¹⁹ ἐξηγητ[.].] ²⁰ αὐτῶ τείμημα (1. τίμη-) ἔφε. [²¹ νιω Σαραπίωνος πολλῶ μὲν πλου²² τούτων στεφάνων ἀναδησαμένω α²³ ²⁴ ὁ ἡγεμονεύ-σας συνεχώρησεν Ου. [²⁵ ἐλάττων πλειόνας δὲ καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ τ[] ²⁶ τῆς παρ' ἡμῶν ἐπικουρίας τῶν εκ. [²⁷ ματων τυχω[. . .] . . . ιεστην μ. [²⁸ ἀγωνισαμε²⁹ η. ωδου ενα. [³⁰ διὰ Θεοδώρου³¹ (ἔτους) ἄγ Αὐτοκρά[το]ρος Καίσαρος Λουκίου Αἰλίου Αὐρηλίου Κομόδου εὐσεβοῦς ³² εὐτυχοῦς σεβασ[το]ῦ Ἀρμενιακοῦ Μηδικοῦ Παρθικοῦ Καρματικοῦ Γερμανικοῦ ³³ μεγίστου Βρ[ε]τανικοῦ εἰρηνοποιῦ τοῦ κόσμου εὐτυχοῦς ἀνικῆτου Ῥωμαίου ³⁴ [Ἡρ]ακλέους [

³ κομμάτων suggests the athlete rather than the Dionysiac artist.

⁶ . : this trace suggests α rather than η, but an α of a form not found in the rest of the fragment.

¹⁷ ἐξηγητ[.].] : the trace is hardly compatible with—τ[α]ίς; perhaps there is room for -[ε]ί[α]ς, if not, perhaps -[ε]ί[α]ς in the same sense.

²⁰ The space and the large O may indicate more than the end of a sentence. Possibly another document begins to be recited here.

²⁵ Ἡρώδου is suitable.

²⁷ seqq. Cf. PSI 1036, 25 seqq. 33rd year = A.D. 192/3. Commodus was killed on 31 Dec. 192, but a later date for this document is possible because of the delay in communication between Rome and Egypt. The celebrations for the accession of Pertinax took place unexpectedly late in Egypt (W. Chrest. 490).

²⁸ εὐτυχοῦς omitted at this point in PSI 1036.

2612. Fr. 2: 22 × 16.5 cm. Between 285 and 290. Two fragments of a report of proceedings before the prefect (Valerius) Pompeianus (for whose dates see Vander-sleyen, *Chronologie des préfets d'Égypte de 284 à 395*, pp. 42 seq.), written in an upright official hand on papyrus of good quality. The subject of the debate, the question of finding candidates for the eutheniarchy (for this office see Jouguet, *La Vie municipale*, pp. 324 seqq.; Oertel, *Die Liturgie*, pp. 339 seqq.) is already familiar from two other Oxyrhynchus texts: one, 1252, is evidently contemporary with this, and contains copies of official correspondence, including a letter from the prefect Pompeianus and (on the other side) a petition from the prytanis to an unspecified prefect (in view of the present text probably the same) complaining of the difficulty he is experiencing in

filling the post of eutheniarch. That the problem was no new one is seen from the other, P. Erlangen 18, dated 248, in which the prytanis addresses a meeting of the βουλή on the same subject. 2612 contributes little additional information beyond a hint of clarification of the puzzling phrase in P. Erl. 18, 12: μετὰ τῆς [ὑ]μῶν χειραγωγίας, which was taken by Schubart (see his n., *Erl. Pap.*, p. 28) to imply some measure of compulsion; it would appear from ll. 3 seq. here to mean something more like 'assistance'. In the Erlangen text there is a suggestion of help of some kind from the prytanis also; so apparently here, but what form this will have taken is unfortunately lost to us by the mutilation of the text in l. 5; we only learn from the candidate himself that a loan is what he does not require. His name is not given; the Dioscorus addressed by the Prefect in fr. 1, 7 seq.; fr. 2, 12 is presumably another speaker.

On the verso, six lines of sums in talents and denarii, each preceded by a date, with a total below. (Read with Mr. R. A. Coles.)

Fr. 1: from the left side of a column; beginning and end lost:

¹ .η[² .ε. .[³ στητη[⁴ λήμφει.[⁵ ζητουμεν.[⁶ -γμάτων ἐξ.[... / Πομπηϊανός ὁ διασημότατος] ⁷ ἔπαρχος Αἰγύπτου ... Διοσκό[⁸ρω εἰ(πεν)· ἴκα[⁹ν

Fr. 2:

¹ (traces only) ² ...]δαρω[(c. 20 letters) τ]ῆν ε[ὑ]θνιαρχε[ίαν ... ³ ... / Πομπηϊανός ὁ διασημότατος ἔπαρχος Αἰγύπτου α[ὑ]τῶ εἰ(πεν) [.....] μετὰ χειραγωγίας δ[ὑ]ν[α]ται ἀπ[... ⁴ ... οὐ ... δύνα]μαι τὴν εὑ[θ]νιαρχίαν δοῦ[ν]αι, ἀλλὰ μ[ετὰ χ]ειραγωγίας. / Πομπηϊανός ὁ [διασημότατος ἔπαρχος Αἰγύπτου ... ⁵ ... μετὰ] τίνος βοθηθείας δύνης; ἀπεκρ[ίνατο]· προχρειά[ς μ]ὲν οὐ δέομαι· ἔθος δὲ ἔστι τὸν πρύταν[ιν ... ⁶ ... ἔμα]ρτυρήσεν σοι καὶ Εὐπόρος. / Πομπηϊανός [ὁ δ]ιασημότατος ἔπαρχος Αἰγύπτου α[ὑ]τῶ εἰ(πεν)· ... ⁷ ... δο]κιμάσῃς. / Πομπηϊανός ὁ διασημότατος [ἔπα]ρχος Αἰγύπτου α[ὑ]τῶ εἰ(πεν)· εὐδελον [ἔστι ... ⁸ ...]μολεις διακοσίας δύναμαι δοῦναι. / Πομ[πηϊανός] ὁ διασημότατος ἔπαρχος Αἰγύπτου ... ⁹ ...]σκ' ... α πόσα ἀναλίσκεται καθ' ἡμέραν; [/ Πομπηϊαν]ός ὁ διασημό[τατος ἔπα]ρχος Αἰγύπτου ... ¹⁰ ... ἀ]ναλίσκε[τα]ι [(c. 20 letters) /] Πομπηϊανός [ὁ διασημότατος ἔπαρχος Αἰγύπτου ... ¹¹ ...]ηκούσας [(c. 20 letters)]ουσην ἀρχόντος α. [... ¹² ... / Πομπηϊαν]ός ὁ διαση[μότατος ἔπαρχος Αἰγύπτου] Διοσκόρω εἰ(πεν)· ὡς δ[... ¹³ ... / Πομπηϊανός ὁ διασημότατος] ἔπαρχος Αἰγύπτου [... ¹⁴ ... / Πομπηϊανός ὁ δια]σημότατος ἔπαρχ[ος Αἰγύπτου]

This ends the column.

2613. 4.6×6.1 cm. Second century. A question addressed to the oracle of Helios-Sarapis by a lady concerning her prospect of marriage. For other questions about marriage, cf. 1213 and Wilcken, *Chr.* 122; note also 1477 19. For such documents in general see Schubart, *ZAS* lxvii (1931), pp. 110 seqq.; and for Demotic examples,

W. Erichsen, *Demotische Orakelfragen* (Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Hist.-fil. Meddelelser xxviii 3, Copenhagen, 1942). Written in a clear upright hand along the fibres; the verso is blank. (Read with Mr. R. A. Coles.)

¹ [.]...[...].² ρα[.]. ³ δέετέ σου Ἀρκανό⁴η ⁵ εἰ μέλλω συνβιοῦν ⁶ Δωρίωνι τῆ⁷ ια.

⁷ δός μοι τοῦ[τ]ο.

1 Above the beginning of the line is an unexplained mark 3 l. δέεται

1 seq. Perhaps restore: [Κ]υρ[ι]έ μ[ο]υ Ἡλ[ι]ε Κα[ρ]α[π]ι.

5 For the grammatical anacoluthon, cf. 1149; 1213; P. Berl. 13300 (Schubart, *Einführung*, p. 368). For εἰ, see Wilhelm, *Archiv* xv (1953), pp. 72 seqq.; Kapsomenos, *Ἐρευναί* i (1957), p. 334.

7 δός μοι τοῦ[τ]ο: cf. 1149 9, note.

2614–2615. 6.5×4.5 cm. and 6.9×6.6 cm. respectively. Third century. Each is an order from Didymus, a garland maker, to an employee. (Read with Mr. R. A. Coles and Mr. W. Campbell.)

2614, in a crude hand with letters of literary type, is on the verso of a small piece of an account of produce: ... ¹ (traces only) ² λαχάνου -[³ ci]νάπεως -[⁴ ἀρ]άκου -[⁵]. -[ρμβd. .[⁶] (γίν.) εἰς -[⁷]κοςκωίας ⁸ ρ. [⁸ κ]ριθῆς -[⁹]λαχάνου -[... The verso text runs: ¹ παρὰ Διδύμου ² στεφανηπλόκου. ³ δός εἰς τὸ πλῆρον (l. πλοῖον) ⁴ στεφάνια δ. η ⁵ (ἔτους) ἰγ Μελίρ κς.

2615, which is cursively written, is on the verso of another account, concerning water transport; after a column of which traces of the end of one line only remain, the text begins: ¹ πλατυπηγίων [² αἰ διαπ() (διαπ(ορθμεύσεις)?) δι' Ἀπολλ[³ ἀνθράκων [⁴ νηωτικο(ῶ) λι(τρ) (ἰ) [⁵ Κερκήσεως (ταλ.) ο// δ[⁶ διεπ() (cf. line 2) ζ ο. [... (Κερκήσις is known as the name of a village in the Arsinoite nome.) Verso text: ¹ π(αρά) Διδύμου. ² ποίησον στεφάνια ὀβοληρά ⁴ διακόσια ⁵ [...]

3 ὀβοληρά: add lex.; for the formation, see Buck and Petersen, *A Reverse Index of Greek Nouns and Adjectives*, pp. 312 seqq.

5 Superlineation of a numeral?

2616. 7.5×9 cm. Third century. A note from Claudianus instructing a subordinate to hand over 500 empty jars for which he has already received the indent. It is written across the fibres, on the verso of part of a document, mostly illegible and of uncertain content, dated in the reign of the two Philips (A.D. 244–9); the year figure is probably α. (Read with Mr. R. A. Coles and Mr. W. Campbell.)

¹ Π[α]ρά Κλαυδιανῶ. ² ἀπόλυσον τοῖς τοῦ ³ ἀξιολογώτατου Πα[ρ]α[τ]ῶνος τὰ φ' κοῦφ[α] ⁵ ὧν καὶ τὸ ἐπίσταμ[α] ⁶ ἔχεις, λαμβάνων τὸ ⁷ ἐπίσταμα· ἀλλὰ μ[η] ⁸ αὐτὸν κατὰσχῃς. ⁹ ἔρρωσο.

2 ἀπόλυσον: cf. P. Flor. 123, 2.

INDEXES

The figures 25 are to be supplied before 32-99, the figures 26 before 00-16. Figures in small raised type refer to fragments, small roman numerals to columns. An asterisk indicates that the word to which it is attached is not recorded in the ninth edition of Liddell and Scott, Greek-English Lexicon. Square brackets indicate that a word is wholly or partly supplied from other sources or by conjecture. A word completely restored in this way is not indexed if it supplements a literary text. If it supplements a document it may be indexed.

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2531 verso

Fragmentary Greek text on a papyrus scroll, likely from the Book of Acts or a similar New Testament text. The text is arranged in vertical columns and is highly damaged and faded.

Visible fragments include:

- Column 1 (leftmost):**
 - ... τὴν δὲ ἐκείνην...
 - ... εὐφρανθῆσαν...
 - ... ἐλάλησαν...
 - ... ἀπολαύσαντες...
 - ... ἐκτίθειν...
 - ... ἐκτιθέμενος...
 - ... εὐσεβῆ...
 - ... ἐκτιθέμενος...
- Column 2 (middle):**
 - ... ἐκτιθέμενος...
 - ... εὐσεβῆ...
 - ... ἐκτιθέμενος...
 - ... εὐσεβῆ...
 - ... ἐκτιθέμενος...
- Column 3 (rightmost):**
 - ... ἐκτιθέμενος...
 - ... εὐσεβῆ...
 - ... ἐκτιθέμενος...

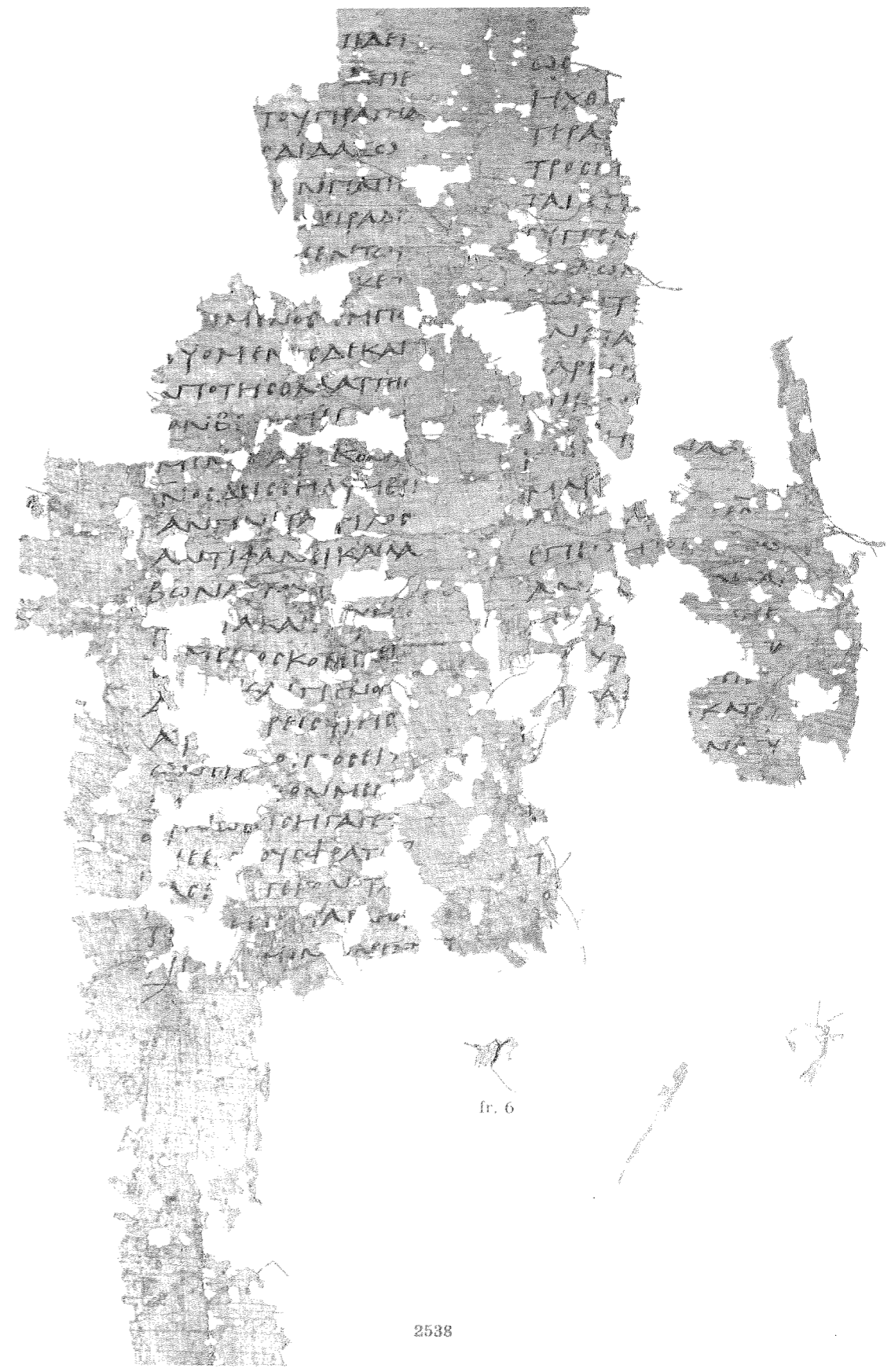
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A vertical column of Greek text, possibly a fragment from the same or a different scroll. The text is also damaged and difficult to decipher, but some words are legible.

Visible fragments include:

- ... ἐκτιθέμενος ...
- ... εὐσεβῆ ...
- ... ἐκτιθέμενος ...
- ... εὐσεβῆ ...
- ... ἐκτιθέμενος ...

2554 fr. 3



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